



G. King Sculp. 1798



G. King Sculp. 1798

PLUTARCH'S LIVES:

VOLUME *the* SEVENTH.

CONTAINING

AGIS.

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.

CLEOMENES.

MARCUS ANTONIUS.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS. DEMOSTHENES.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

Translated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*
From M. DACIER.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. TONSON in the *Strand*.

MDCCXXVII.

993
17

PLUTARCH

L I V E S

VOLUME THE SEVENTH

CONTAINING

Demetrius Poliorcetes

Antiochus the Great

Antiochus the Younger

Antiochus the Syrian



Translated by G. H. D. N.

With Notes, Historical and Critical

By M. D. N.

LONDON

Printed by J. B. Nichols and Son, Stationers

1847

L Ch

A
u



L. Cheron Inv.

Vol. 7: p. 5.

G. P. Guichet Sculp.

39



is
is
un
spr
for
H

(
nat
ed b



THE
LIFE
OF
AGIAS.

THE Fable of *Ixion*, who embracing a Cloud instead of *Juno*, begot the *Centaur*s, was ingeniously enough invented (1) to represent to us ambitious Men, whose Minds doting on Glory, (which is a meer Image of Virtue) produce nothing that is genuin or uniform, but born away by violent and unsteady Passions, their Actions being the Offsprings of such a Conjunction, must needs be deform'd and unnatural; and they may say with the Herdsmen, in the Tragedy of *Sophocles*,

*We follow those whom we ought to govern,
And they command us, though they're dumb.*

(1) This Allegory is so clear and natural, that it is not to be doubted but it was the true Intent of the Fable, and may serve as an Answer to Those who cry out against the Allegories in *Homer*.

The LIFE of

This is indeed the true Condition of those ambitious Men, who to gain a vain Title of Magistracy, are content to subject themselves to the Humour of the People: For as They who row in the fore-part of the Ship, may seem to guide the Motions of it, yet have continually an Eye on the Pilot who sits at the Helm, and must proceed in the Course He will steer; so these Men, steered as I may say by popular Applause, though they bear the Name of Governors, are in reality Slaves to the *Mobile*. The Man who is compleatly wise and virtuous, regards not Glory, but only as it disposes and prepares his way to great Attempts. (1) A young Man, I grant, may be permitted to glory a little in his good Actions; for (as *Theophrastus* says) his Virtues which are yet tender, and as it were in the Bud, cherished and supported by Praise, grow stronger, and take the deeper root: But when this Passion is exorbitant, it is dangerous in all Men, and especially in Those who govern a Commonwealth; for being joined with an unlimited Power, it often transports Men to a degree of Madness; so that now they no more think what is Good, to be Glorious; but will have those Actions only esteemed Good that are Glorious. As *Phocion* therefore answered King *Antipater*, who sought his Approbation of some unworthy Action, *I cannot be your Flatterer, and your Friend too*; so these Men

(1) All Philosophers agree that the Love of Glory is allowable in young Men, because it helps to moderate the Sallies of Youth, and excites them to undertake something Great for the Sake of the Praise that will result from it. But if it continues too long, and doth not forsake them in their riper Years, it is a Misfortune upon them; and may prove their Ruin; for it will not suffer the Soul to be

collected within it self whilst it is thus gaping after Vanity, nor espouse any thing that is good purely for its own sake, but merely for the Reputation arising from it; that is to say, it does not chuse Good, because it is Good, but on another Consideration foreign to it. This Point is thoroughly handled in *Simplicius* his Commentary on the fifty second Maxim of *Epictetus* his Manual. Tom. 1. p. 164.

should

should answer the People, *I cannot govern and obey you*: For it may happen to the Commonwealth, as to the Serpent in the Fable, whose Tail rising in Rebellion against the Head, complained (as of a great Grievance) that it was always forced to follow, and prayed, it might be permitted by Turns to lead the way; which being granted but for a Day, quickly discovered the Folly, by the Mischiefs which beset the whole Body, and particularly to the Head, in following, contrary to Nature, a Guide that was Deaf and Blind. The Same we see does every day happen to Many, who guided by the Inclinations of an ignorant and giddy Multitude, can neither stop, nor recover themselves out of the Confusion.

This is what has occurred to us to say, of that Glory which depends on the Vulgar, considering the sad Effects of it in the Misfortunes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*; Men nobly born, whose generous Disposition by Nature, was improved by an excellent Education; and who came to the Administration of Affairs with very sincere Intentions; yet they were ruined, I cannot say, by an immoderate Desire of Glory, but by a more excusable fear of Infamy; for being excessively beloved and favoured by the People, they thought it an Ingratitude to deny them any thing, 'till the People and They mutually inflamed, and vying with each other in Honours and Benefits, things were at last brought to such a pass, that it was too late for them to say, (1) *when a thing is not good in itself it is a shame to persist in the Pursuit of it.*

A 4

This

(1) This Passage has been taken in a quite contrary Sense, and consequently in a very false one, as evidently appears from the Scope of the Argument. *Plutarch* did not intend to say that tho' the thing

it self was wrong, it wou'd nevertheless be wrong to desist. But on the contrary, Since the thing was not good, it wou'd be a Shame to persist in it. *ἔπει μὴ καλὸν, αἰσχροὺς ἢ δὴ τοιαύτα*, which is

Word

The LIFE of

This the judicious Reader will easily gather from the Story. I will now compare with them two *Lacedæmonian* Kings, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*; for They being desirous also to raise the People, by restoring their obsolete Laws of Equality, incurred the Hatred of the Rich and Powerful, who could not endure to be deprived of those Advantages which did so gloriously distinguish them from the Vulgar. These were not indeed Brothers by Nature, as the two *Romans*, but they had a kind of brotherly Resemblance in their Actions and Designs, which took a rise from such Beginnings and Occasions, as I am now about to relate.

When Gold and Silver (the great Debauchers of Mankind) had once gained Admittance into the *Lacedæmonian* Commonwealth, it was quickly followed by Avarice, Baseness of Spirit, and all manner of Frauds in the Possession, by Riot, Luxury, and Effeminacy in the Use. (1) Then *Sparta* fell from her original Virtue and Glory, and so continued 'till the Days of *Agis* and *Leonidas*.

Agis was of the Royal Family of *Eurytion*, Son of *Eudamidas*, and the Sixth in descent from *Agefilaus*, who being chief Commander of the *Græcians*, gained such great Renown in the famous Expedition into *Asia*. *Agefilaus* left behind him a Son called *Archidamus*, who being slain by the *Calabrians* at *Mardonium* in *Italy*, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Agis*; He being killed by *Antipater* near *Megalopolis*, and leaving no Issue, was succeeded by his Brother *Eudamidas*; He, by a Son called *Archidamus*; and *Archidamus* by another *Eudamidas*, the Father of this *Agis* of whom we now Treat.

Word for Word, Since it is not good, it is a Shame to persevere. For τὸν δὲ sometimes signifieth the same with ἰσχυρὸν to fix, persevere, as *Hesychius* has well explained it.

(1) This is inevitable, the Moment a State becometh rich, it lo-

seth its Grandeur; a Truth confirmed by numbers of Examples, among which we have a flagrant one in the Fortunes of the *Roman* Empire. When Virtue and Wealth are in the Balance, as the One sinks, the Other riseth.

Leonidas,

A G I S.

Leonidas, Son of *Cleonymus*, was of the other Royal Branch of the *Agides*, and the Eighth in descent from *Pausanias*, who defeated *Mardonius* in the Battel of *Platea*. *Pausanias* was succeeded by a Son called *Pliftonax*; and He by another *Pausanias*, who being banished, and leading a private Life at *Tegea*, his eldest Son *Agefipolis* reigned in his Place; He dying without Issue, was succeeded by a younger Brother called *Cleombrotus*, who left two Sons: the Elder was *Agefipolis*, who reigned but a short time, and died without Issue; the younger was called *Cleomenes*, who had also two Sons, *Acrotatus* and *Cleonymus*; the First died before his Father, but left a Son called *Areus*, who succeeded, and being slain at *Corinth*, left the Kingdom to his Son *Acrotatus*: This *Acrotatus* was defeated, and slain near *Megalopolis*, in a Battel against the Tyrant *Aristodemus*; he left his Wife big with Child, who being delivered of a Son, *Leonidas* (Son of the above-named *Cleonymus*) was made his Guardian, and the young Man dying in his Minority, He succeeded in the Kingdom.

Leonidas was a Man in no great Esteem with the People; for though there were at that time a general Corruption in Manners, yet a greater Aversion to the old Institutions appeared in Him than in Others; for having lived a long time among the great Lords of *Persia*, and been a Follower of King *Seleucus*, he unadvisedly imitated the Pride and Luxury of those Courts, in the limited Government of a *Græcian* Commonwealth.

Agis on the contrary shewed himself to all Men obliging and affable, and did in goodness of Nature, and greatness of Mind, not only far excel *Leonidas*, but in a manner all the Kings that had reigned since the great *Agefilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, by his Mother *Agefistrata*, and his Grandmother

The LIFE of

mother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthiest of the *Lacedæmonians*; yet before the Age of Twenty, he so far overcame himself, as to renounce effeminate Pleasures. He was a very handsome Person, and of a graceful Behaviour; yet to give a check to the Vanity he might take therein, would go always plain and mean in his Cloaths. In his Diet, Bathings, and in all his Exercises, he chose to imitate the old *Laconian* Frugality and Temperance, and was often heard to say, *he would not desire the Kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that Authority to restore their ancient Laws and Discipline.*

The *Lacedæmonians* might date the beginning of their Corruption from their Conquest of *Athens*, from which time they began to be full of Gold and Silver: Nevertheless the *Agrarian* Law established by *Lycurgus* remaining in Force, (by which every one was obliged to leave his Lot or Portion of Land, together with his House, entirely to his Son) a kind of Order and Equality was thereby maintained, which still in some Decree preserved them from Ruin. But one *Epitadeus* happening to be *Ephore*, a Man of a factious violent Spirit, and on some Occasion incensed against his Son, he procured a Decree, that all Men should have Liberty to dispose of their Land by Gift or Sale, or by their last Will and Testament; which being promoted by Him to satisfy a Passion of Revenge, and thro' Covetousness consented to by Others, an excellent Institution was abrogated; the effect whereof was, that the monied Men coveting to possess the Land, the right Heirs were by Degrees disinherited, and all the Wealth being in the Hands of a few, the Generality were poor and miserable; Liberal Arts and Sciences were neglected, and the City filled with a mean sort of Mechanicks, always envious, and hating the Rich: There did not remain above

seven

seven hundred of the old *Spartan* Families, of which perhaps one hundred might have Estates in Land: The rest had neither Wealth nor Honour, were sluggish and unperforming in the War abroad, and ever greedy of Novelty and Change at home.

Agis therefore believing it a glorious Action (as in truth it was) to repeople the City, and to bring them back to their first Institution, began to sound the Inclinations of the Citizens. He found the young Men disposed beyond his Expectation; for being taken with the specious Name of Liberty, they seemed as ready to shift their Manners as their Cloaths; but the old Men, habituated and more confirmed in their Vices, were startled at the very Name of *Lycurgus*, as a fugitive Slave Years to be brought back before his offended Master; these Men could not endure to hear *Agis* continually deploring the present state of *Sparta*, and wishing she might be restored to her ancient Glory. But on the other side, *Lyfander*, the Son of *Lybis*; *Mandroclidas*, the Son of *Erephanes*, together with *Agefilans*, did not only approve his Design, but assisted and confirmed him in it. *Lyfander* had a great Authority and Credit with the People; *Mandroclidas* was esteemed the ablest Man of his time, to manage any Affair in the *Græcian* Assemblies, and besides his uncommon Skill and Cunning, he was exceeding bold, and enterprizing. *Agefilans* was the King's Uncle by the Mother's side, an eloquent Man, but covetous and voluptuous; he was not moved by any Consideration of publick Good, but rather seemed to be persuaded to it by his Son *Hypomedon*, (whose Courage and signal Actions in War had gained him a high Esteem among the young Men of *Sparta*) though indeed the true Motive was, because he had many Debts, and hoped by this Means to be freed from them. As soon as *Agis* had

The LIFE of

had prevailed with his Uncle, he endeavoured by his Mediation to gain his Mother also, who being exceeding rich, had by her many Creditors, Friends and Followers, a considerable Power in the City. At the first Proposal she was very averse, and earnestly advised her Son not to engage in so difficult and so dangerous an Enterprize; but *Agessilaus* endeavoured to possess her, that the thing was not so difficult as she imagined, and that it might in all likelihood redound to the great Honour and Advantage of her Family. The King her Son earnestly besought her, not to decline assisting him in so glorious a Design; he told her, *he could not pretend to equal other Kings in Riches, (1) the very Followers and Servants of Seleucus or Ptolemy abounding more in Wealth than all the Spartan Kings put together; but if by Moderation and Contempt of Wealth and Pleasure, he could surpass their Luxury and Abundance, if he could restore their former Equality to the Spartans, then he should be a great King indeed.* In conclusion, the Mother and the Grandmother also were so taken with the young Man's generous Ambition, that they did not only consent, but were ready on all occasions to spur him on to a Perseverance, and engaged to him not only the Men with whom they had an Interest, but the Women also, knowing well that the *Lacedæmonian* Wives had always a great Power with their Husbands, who used to impart to them their State-Affairs, with greater freedom than the Women wou'd commu-

(1) This Reason is of great Force, and proves to a Demonstration, that a Prince cannot reasonably found his Grandeur upon his Wealth, since several Servants of great Men, and the very Slaves of their Favourites, have been Masters of more Riches than the most wealthy Princes, and yet have always been contemned and despised. Virtue therefore is the only thing that can render a Prince truly great indeed.

minate with the Men in the private Business of their Families, which was indeed one of the greatest Obstacles to this Design; for the Money of *Sparta* being most of it in the Women's Hands, it was their Interest to oppose it, not only as depriving them of those superfluous Trifles, in which through want of Virtue they placed their chief Felicity, but also because they knew their Wealth was the main support of their Power and Credit.

Those therefore who were of this Faction, had recourse to *Leonidas*, representing to him, how it was his part, as the elder and more experienced, to put a stop to the ill-advised Projects of a rash young Man. *Leonidas*, though of Himself sufficiently inclined to oppose *Agis*, durst not openly for fear of the People, who did manifestly favour him, and were desirous of this change; but underhand he did all he could to incense the chief Magistrates against him, and on all Occasions craftily insinuated, that *Agis* having designed an Arbitrary Government, would divide among the Poor what belonged to the Rich; that he would declare all Debts paid, and divide the Lands as a Bribe for future Services: That instead of so many rich Citizens of *Sparta*, he might have a Company of Slaves to be his Guard.

Agis nevertheless little regarding these Rumours, caused *Lysander* to be chosen Ephore; then took the first Occasion of proposing his *Rhetra* or Decree to the Senate, the chief Articles whereof were these: That every one should be free from their Debts: All the Lands to be divided into equal portions: Those that lay betwixt the Valley of *Pellene* and Mount *Tegæus*, as far as the Cities of *Malleæ* and *Sellasia*, into four thousand five hundred Lots, the remainder into fifteen thousand; these last to be shared by some chosen out of the adjacent Countries, Men able and fit to bear Arms: The first among the natural Spartans, admitting

ing also of Strangers to supply their Number, such as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All these were to be divided into fifteen Companies, some of four hundred, some of Two, with a Diet and Discipline agreeable to the Laws of Lycurgus.

This Decree being proposed in the Senate, occasioned a hot Debate; so that *Lysander* doubting the Event, would not expect the Issue, but immediately convoked the great Assembly of the People, to whom He, *Mandroclidas* and *Agefilans* made Orations, exhorting them not to suffer the Majesty of *Sparta* to be brought into Contempt, to gratifie a few rich Men, who by specious Pretences endeavoured to elude them, only that They Themselves might pass their time in Riot and Delights. They had them call to mind, how ancient Oracles had forewarned them against Avarice, as the very Plague and utter Ruin of *Sparta*: That they should think of the Oracle lately delivered (1) from the famous Temple of *Pasiphae* in *Thalamis*. Some say, this *Pasiphae* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, who had by *Jupiter* a Son called *Ammon*: Others are of Opinion, (2) it was *Cassandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who

(1) They who had a mind to consult the Oracle, went, and lay in her Temple, where the Goddess revealed to them in a Dream an Answer to their Inquiries. *Cicero* takes notice of this Oracle of *Pasiphae* in his first Book de Divinatione. *Atque etiam qui praerant Lacedaemonis non contenti vigilanti- sibus Curis, in Pasiphaa sano, quod est in agro propter urbem, somnandi causa excubabant, quia vera quietis Oracula ducebant.*

(2) One would be apt to believe from *Pausanias* that this was the Goddess *Ino*. On the Road between *Ostyia* and *Thalamis*, saith

he, is the Temple of *Ino*. The Custom is for the Inquirers to consult the Goddess in their Sleep, and whatever the Querist wants to know, is revealed to him in a Vision. In the Court of the Temple are to be seen two Statues in Brass, One of Paphic, [it should be *Pasiphae*] and the Other of the Sun. That which is in the Temple is covered over with Crowns and Fillers, so as not to be seen; but it is said to be likewise of Brass. It is very likely that This *Ino* was likewise called *Pasiphae*, because she delivered her Oracles to the whole World.

dying

dying in this place, was called *Pasiphae*, as one should say, *clearly revealing Secrets*, as the Light discovers all things to the Eye. *Phylarchus* says, it was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transformed into a Lawrel, and honoured by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. But be it as it will, it is certain the People were made to apprehend, that this Oracle had commanded them to return to their former state of Equality settled by *Lycurgus*. As soon as These had done speaking, *Agis* stood up, and said he would not amuse them with vain words, but contribute to what had been proposed for their Advantage, by real Effects. In the first place, he would divide among them all his Patrimony, which was of large Extent in Tillage and Pasture; he would also give six hundred Talents in ready Money, and that his Mother, Grandmother, and his other Friends and Relations, who were the richest of the *Lacedaemonians*, were ready to follow his Example. The People transported with Admiration of the young Man's Generosity, highly applauded, and loudly declared, there had not been for three hundred Years so worthy a King in *Sparta*.

But on the other side, *Leonidas* was now more than ever averse, being sensible that He and his Friends would be obliged to contribute with their Riches, and yet all the Honour and Obligation would redound to *Agis*. He asked him then before them all, *Whether Lycurgus were not in his Opinion a wise Man, and a Lover of his Country?* *Agis* answering, *He was: And when did Lycurgus, (replied Leonidas) cancel Debts, or admit of Strangers? He who thought the Safety of the Commonwealth consisted in their Exclusion?* To this *Agis* replied, *It is no wonder that Leonidas, who is married, and has Children by a Wife taken out of a Persian*

Perſian Court, ſhould know little of Lycurgus, or his Laws. Lycurgus took away both Debts and Uſury, by taking away Money, and excluded only ſuch Strangers as would not conform to the Laws of his Commonwealth, not for any Ill-will to them, but leſt they ſhould infect the City with their Covetouſneſs; for otherwiſe it is well known, that He Himſelf gladly entertained Terpander, Thales and Phericides, tho' they were Strangers, purely becauſe he perceived they were of the ſame mind with Himſelf. And even you, continued he, who have commended Ecprepes, becauſe when he was one of the Ephori he (1) cut off two of the nine Strings from the Inſtrument of Phrynis the Muſician, and applauded Thoſe who did afterwards imitate him, in cutting the Strings (2) of Timotheus's Harp, with what Face can you blame Me, for deſigning to cut off Superfluity and Luxury from the Commonwealth? Do you think thoſe Men were ſo concerned only about a Fiddle-string, or intended any thing elſe, than by checking the Voluptuouſneſs of Muſick, to keep out a way of living, which might deſtroy the Harmony of the City?

From this time forward, as the common People followed Agis ſo the rich Men adhered to Leonidas, who joining his Authority with their Intereſt, things were ſo managed in

(1) Whatever tended to render Muſick more ſoft and effeminate was ſuſpected by thoſe prudent Perſons, and we are aſſured by Experience that they had reaſon for it. It is in the Greek, that he cut them *Σκεπάων*, which has been rendered by *aſcia*, a Hatchet, but this Word may ſignify ſomething beſides a Hatchet; it may ſignify a Knife, or ſome other cutting Inſtrument. For it wou'd be ridiculous to make uſe of a Hatchet to cut the Strings of an In-

ſtrument, unleſs it may be imagined that this Magiſtrate took the Hatchet on purpoſe to make them believe he was going to chop the Lyre it ſelf in pieces.

(2) This was Timotheus of Miletus, a noted Dithyrambick Poet, and Muſician. He was worſe even than Phrynis, for he added an eleventh, nay a twelfth String to the Lyre, which made the Spartans publiſh a ſevere Decree againſt him.

the Senate, (whose chief Power consisted in preparing all Laws before they were proposed to the People) that with much ado the designed *Rhetra* or Decree of *Agis* was rejected, though but by one only Vote; whereupon *Lyfander*, (who as we said) was *Ephore*, and of *Agis* his Party, resolving to be revenged on *Leonidas*, drew up an Information against him, grounded on two old Laws: The One forbids any of the Race of *Hercules* to have Children by a Stranger; and the Other makes it capital for a *Lacedæmonian* to travel into foreign Countries. Whilst he set Others on to manage this Accusation, He with his Collegues went to observe the Heavens, according to a Custom established among them, which was performed in the following manner. Every ninth Year the *Ephori* chusing a Star-light Night, (when there was neither Cloud nor Moon) sat down together in Quiet and Silence; and if they chanced to spy (1) the shooting of a Star, they presently pronounced their King guilty of some great Crime against the Gods; and thereupon he was immediately secluded from all Exercise of Regal Power, till he could be relieved by an Oracle from *Delfhi* or *Olympus*.

Lyfander therefore assured the People, he had seen a Star shoot, and at the same time *Leonidas* was cited to answer for Himself. Witnesses were produced to testify he had married an *Asian* Woman, bestowed on him by one of King *Seleucus*

(1) How was it possible for a People of so good an Understanding in other Respects to be guilty of such an extravagant Imagination, as to think a Star, that is an Exhalation travelling from one part of the Heavens to another, could be a Sign that their Kings had been guilty of some enormous Crime, for which they deserved to be deposed? It is not to be believed that they really were of that Opinion; it could be no other than a Political Fetch and Handle, upon Occasion to get rid of their Kings when they did not like them.

his Lieutenants; that he had two Children by her, but there happening some difference betwixt them, she did so mortally hate him, that flying from Her, he was in a manner forced to return to *Sparta*, where his Predecessor dying without Issue, he took upon him the Government. *Lysander*, not content with This, persuaded *Cleombrotus* to lay Claim to the Kingdom: He was of the Royal Family, and Son-in-law to *Leonidas*, who fearing now the Event of this Process, was fled to the Temple of *Minerva*, called *Calciæcos*, together with his Daughter, the Wife of *Cleombrotus*; for She on this Occasion resolved to leave her Husband, and to follow her Father. *Leonidas* being again cited, and not appearing, they pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against him, and made *Cleombrotus* King in his place.

Soon after this Revolution, *Lysander* (his Year expiring) went out of his Office, and new *Ephori* were chosen of the contrary Faction, who immediately conspiring to restore *Leonidas*, cited *Lysander* and *Mandroclidas* to answer, for having, contrary to Law, cancelled Debts, and designed a new Division of Lands. They seeing themselves in Danger, had recourse to the two Kings, and represented to them, how necessary it was for their Interest and Safety resolutely to unite, thereby to prevent the Designs of the *Ephori*, and put a stop to their Encroachments. The Power of the *Ephori* (they said) was then only to be exerted when there happened to be any Dissension between the two Kings, in which Case they had a Right to determine which of them proposed what was most beneficial to the Publick; but when the two Kings were unanimous, they had no right to interpose, or resist their Authority. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* thus persuaded, went together with their Friends into the Market-place, where raising the *Ephori* from their Seats, they

they placed Others in their room, (of which *Agésilas* was One;) then arming a Company of young Men, and releasing Many out of Prison, Those of the contrary Faction began to be in great fear of their Lives; but there was no Blood spilt. *Agis* on the contrary having notice that *Agésilas* had ordered a Company of Soldiers to lie in wait for *Leonidas*, to kill him as he fled to *Teges*, immediately sent some of his Followers to defend him, and to convey him safely into that City.

Thus far all things proceeded prosperously, None daring to oppose; but by the sordid Avarice of one Man, these promising Beginnings were blasted. *Agésilas* (as we said) was much in Debt, yet had a fair Estate in Land, and though he gladly joined in this Design to be quit of his Debts, he was not at all willing to part with his Land; therefore he persuaded *Agis*, that if Both these things should be put in Execution at the same time, so great and so sudden an Alteration might cause some dangerous Commotion; but if Debts were in the first place cancelled, the rich Men would afterwards more easily be prevailed with to part with their Land. *Lysander* also was of the same Opinion, being deceived in like manner by the Craft of *Agésilas*; so that all Men were presently commanded to bring in the Bonds (or Deeds of Obligation, by the *Lacedaemonians* called *Claria*) into the Market-place, which being laid together in a Heap, they set Fire to it. The Usurers and other Creditors, one may easily imagine, beheld it with a heavy Heart, but *Agésilas* told them scoffingly, *His Eyes had never seen a Flame so bright and glorious.*

Soon after This the People pressed earnestly for a division of Lands: The Kings also had ordered it to be done; but *Agésilas* sometimes pretending one Difficulty, and sometimes Another, delayed

the Execution, 'till an Occasion happened to call *Agis* to the Wars. The *Acheans*, in vertue of a League defensive, sent to demand Succours, for they expected every Day when the *Ætolians* would attempt to enter *Peloponnesus*, by the Confines of *Megara*: They had made *Aratus* their General, and sent Him with an Army to hinder this Incurſion. *Aratus* writ to the *Ephori*, who immediately gave Order that *Agis* ſhould haſten to their Aſſiſtance with the *Lacedæmonian* Auxiliaries. *Agis* was extreemly well pleaſed to ſee the forwardneſs of the young Men to this Expedition; for though they were very poor, yet freed from Debts, and in hope of being Maſters of Land at their Return, they followed chearfully, and in good Equipage. The Cities through which they paſſed, were in Admiration to ſee how they marched from one end of *Peloponnesus* to the Other, without the leaſt Diſorder, and in a manner without making any Noiſe: It gave them Occaſion to diſcourſe with one another, how great might be the Temperance and Modeſty of the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, under their Famous Captains *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, and *Leonidas*, ſince they ſaw ſuch Diſcipline and exact Obedience under a King, who perhaps was the youngſt Man in all the Army. They ſaw alſo how he was content to fare hardly, ready to undergo any Labours, and not to be diſtinguiſhed by Pomp or Richneſs of Habit, from the meaneſt of his Soldiers. But if by this Moderation and Conduct he gained the Love of the Soldiers and the common People, it made him ſtill more odious to the Rich and Powerful, who were afraid ſuch an Example might work an Impreſſion to their Prejudice, in all the neighbouring Countries.

Agis having joined *Aratus* near the City of *Corinth*, a Council of War was called, to debate whether

whether or no it were expedient to give the Enemy Battel. *Agis* on this Occasion shewed a great Forwardness and Resolution, yet without Obstinacy or Presumption: He declared it was his Opinion they ought to fight, thereby to hinder the Enemy from entering Peloponnesus; but nevertheless he would submit to the Judgment of *Aratus*, not only as the elder and more experienced Captain, but as he was General of the Achæans, whose Forces He would not pretend to command, but was only come thither to assist them. I am not ignorant, that *Baton* of *Synope* relates it in another manner: He says, *Aratus* would have fought, and that *Agis* was against it; but it is most certain he was mistaken, not having read what *Aratus* Himself writes in his own Justification; for he expressly tells us, That knowing the People had well-nigh got in their Harvest, he thought it much better to let the Enemy pass, than to hazard by a Battel the loss of the whole Country: And therefore giving Thanks to the Confederates for their readiness, he dismissed them. Thus *Agis*, not without having gained a great deal of Honour, returned to *Sparta*, where he found the People in a Mutiny, and all things in Confusion, occasioned by the Avarice and ill Government of *Agefilas*.

For He being now one of the *Ephori*, and by that Authority freed from the Fear which formerly kept him in some Restraint, forbore no kind of Oppression which might bring in Gain: Among other things he exacted a Thirteenth Month's Tax, whereas before they had never paid more than Twelve. For these and other Reasons fearing his Enemies, and knowing how he was hated by the People, he thought it necessary to maintain a Guard, which always accompanied him to the Courts of Justice; and presuming on his Power, he was grown so insolent, that of the

two Kings, the One he openly contemned; and if he shewed any Respect towards *Agis*, he wou'd have it thought rather an Effect of his near Relation, than any Duty or Submission to the Royal Authority; and being desirous all Men shou'd be confirmed in a Belief of his Power, he gave it out he was to continue one of the *Ephori* the ensuing Year also.

His Enemies, alarmed by this Report, immediately conspired against him, and bringing back *Leonidas* from *Tegea*, re-established him in the Kingdom, to which the People (highly incensed for having been defrauded in the promised Division of Lands) easily consented. *Agisilaus* himself would hardly have escaped their Fury, if his Son *Hypomedon*, a Man for his Virtues very much esteemed by the People, had not mediated in his behalf, and then privately conveyed him out of the City.

During this Combustion, the two Kings fled, *Agis* to the Temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to That of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* more incensed against his Son-in-law, meddled not with *Agis*, but with his Soldiers went to *Cleombrotus*'s Sanctuary, and there with great Passion reproached him for conspiring with his Enemies, usurping his Throne, and forcing him from his Country; and all This in Defiance of the Affinity between them. *Cleombrotus* having little to say for himself stood silent. His Wife *Chelonis*, the Daughter of *Leonidas*, had been a Partner with her Father in his Sufferings; for when *Cleombrotus* usurped the Kingdom, she forsook him, and wholly applied her self to comfort her Father in his Affliction: Whilst he was in Sanctuary she staid with him, and when he fled she attended him, bewailing his Misfortune, and extreamly displeased with *Cleombrotus*: But now upon this turn of Fortune, she was as zealous

lous and as assiduous in Expressions of Love and Duty to her Husband, whom she embraced with one Arm, and held her two little Children with the Other. All present were extreemly taken with this uncommon Instance of Conjugal Piety and Affection, whilst the disconsolate Lady in a loose mourning Habit, and with her Hair dishevelled in a suppliant Posture, spoke thus to Leonidas.

This mourning Vest, these dejected Looks, and all those other Tokens of unutterable Woe, which cannot be concealed, are not worn for the sake of Cleombrotus, but were put on to condole with You in your Banishment; and now you are restored to your Country, and to your Kingdom, must I still remain in Grief and Misery? Or wou'd you have me attired in my Festival Ornaments, that I may rejoyce with you, when you have killed within my Arms the Man to whom you gave me for a Wife? Either Cleombrotus must appease you by Mine and my Children's Tears, or he must suffer a Punishment greater than his Faults have deserved: He shall infallibly see me die before him, Me, whom he so tenderly loves. To what end should I live, or how shall I appear among the Spartan Ladies, when it shall so manifestly be seen, that I have not been able to move Compassion either in my Husband for the sake of my Father, or in my Father for the sake of my Husband? I was born, it seems, to be dishonoured and disgraced, both as a Wife and Daughter, in that Relation which is nearest to me in each Capacity. As for Cleombrotus, I sufficiently disowned His Cause, when I forsook Him to follow You; but now you your self will justify his Proceedings, by shewing to the World, that for the sake of a Kingdom it is just to kill a Son-in-law, and be regardless of a Daughter. Chelonis having ended this Lamentation, turned her weeping Eyes to the Spectators,

then gently reposed her Head in her Husband's Bosom.

Leonidas, touched with Compassion, withdrew a while to advise with his Friends; then returning, condemned *Cleombrotus* to perpetual Banishment: *Chelonis*, he said, ought to stay with him; it not being just she should forsake a Father, who had granted at her Intercession the Life of her Husband; but all he could say would not prevail. She rose up immediately, and taking one of her Children in her Arms, gave the other to her Husband; then having performed her Devotions at the Altar where she had taken Sanctuary, she cheerfully followed him into Banishment. To be short, so great was the Virtue and Generosity expressed by *Chelonis* on this Occasion, that if *Cleombrotus* were not strangely blinded by Ambition, he would chuse to be banished with so excellent a Woman, rather than without Her to possess a Kingdom.

Cleombrotus thus removed, *Leonidas* thought fit also to displace the *Ephori*, and to chuse others in their room; then he began to consider how he might entrap *Agis*. At first he endeavoured by fair means to persuade him to leave the Sanctuary, and partake with him (as was his Right) in the Kingdom: The People, he said, would easily pardon the Errors of a young Man, ambitious of Glory, and deceived by the Craft of *Agésilas*. But finding *Agis* was suspicious, and not to be prevailed with to quit his Sanctuary, he gave over that Design; yet what could not then be effected by the Dissimulation of an Enemy, was soon after brought to pass by the Treachery of a Friend.

Amphares, *Demochares* and *Archesilaus* did often visit *Agis*, and he was so confident of their Fidelity, that after a while he was prevailed with to accom-

accom-

accompany them to the Baths, which were not far distant, they constantly returning to see him safe again into the Temple. *Amphares* had borrowed a great deal of Plate and rich Household-stuff of *Agessistrata*, and hoped if he could destroy Her and the whole Family, he might peaceably enjoy those Goods. To so base an Intent, he was ready to serve *Leonidas* in any treacherous way, and being one of the *Ephori*, did all he could to incense the rest of his Collegues against *Agis*. These Men therefore finding that *Agis* would never stir from his Sanctuary, but only when he went to the Bath, resolved to make use of that Occasion: And one Day in his Return, they met and saluted him as formerly, discoursing pleasantly by the way, as familiar Friends use to do, 'till coming to the turning of a Street which led to the Prison, *Amphares* by vertue of his Office arrested *Agis*, and told him, He must go with Him before the other *Ephori*, to answer for his Misdemeanors. At the same time *Demochares*, who was a tall strong Man, threw his Cloak over his Head, and dragged him after by the Neck, whilst the Others went behind to thrust him on; so that none of *Agis*'s Friends being near to assist him, they easily got him into the Prison, where *Leonidas* was already arrived, with a Company of Soldiers, who strongly guarded all the Avenues: The *Ephori* were also there with as many of the Senators as they knew to be true to their Party, being desirous to proceed with some resemblance of Justice. First they bade him give an Account, why he had gone about to alter the Government? To which *Agis* (only smiling at their Craft and Dissimulation) answered not a Word: *Amphares* told him, *It was more seasonable to weep, for now the time was come in which he should be punished for his Presumption.* Another of the

the Ephori seeming more favourable, (and offering as it were an Excuse) asked him, *whether he was not forced to what he did by Agefilaus and Lysander?* But Agis answered, *he had not been constrained by any Man, nor had any other Intent in what he did, but only to follow the Example of Lysurgus, and to govern conformably to his Laws.* The same Ephore asked him, *Whether now at least he did not repent his Rashness?* to which he replied, *That tho' he saw unavoidable Death before his Eyes, yet he could never repent of so just and so glorious a Design.* They had not the patience to hear him any longer, but commanded the Serjeants to carry him into the Decade, (which was a place in the Prison where they used to strangle Malefactors.) The Officers refused to obey, and the very mercenary Soldiers declined it, (1) believing it an insolent and a wicked Act to lay violent Hands on a King, which as soon as Demochares perceived, threatening and reviling them for it, He Himself thrust him into the Room.

By this time the News of Agis's being seized having reached all Parts of the City, had occasioned a great Concourse of People with Lanthorns and Torches about the Prison-Gates, and in the midst of them the Mother and the Grandmother of Agis, crying out with a loud Voice, that their King ought to appear, and to be heard by the People, and should at least be proceeded with in the usual Forms of Justice. But this Clamour,

(1) This Sentiment ought to be engraved in the Hearts of all Men. The royal Character is so venerable and holy, that none but the most abandoned Villains can think of laying violent Hands upon their Sovereigns. Even in the Heat of War, tho' David was Master of the Life of Saul, he not only spared him, saying, *The Lord forbid, I should do this thing unto my Master, the Lord's Anointed, to stretch forth my Hand against him, seeing he is the Anointed of the Lord,* but his Heart smote him because he had cut off Saul's Skirt. 1 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6.

instead of preventing, hastened his Death, his Enemies fearing if the Tumult should increase, he might that very Night be rescued out of their Hands.

Agis being now at the point to die, perceived one of the Serjeants bitterly bewailing his Misfortune: *Weep not Friend,* (says he) *for Me, who die innocent, but rather grieve for Those who are guilty of this wicked Act; My Condition is much better than Yours.* As soon as he had spoken these Words, not shewing the least sign of Fear, he patiently stretched out his Neck to the Executioner.

Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the Prison-gate, where he found *Agefistrata*, who casting her self at his Feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same Friendship as formerly: He assured her, she need not fear any farther Violence should be offered against her Son; and that if she pleased, she might go in and see him; she begged her Mother might also have the favour to be admitted: and he replied, No Body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the Gate should again be locked, and the Grandmother to be first introduced; she was now grown very old, and had lived all her Days with great Reputation of Virtue and Wisdom. As soon as *Amphares* thought she was dispatched, he told *Agefistrata*, She might now go in if she pleased; she entered, where beholding her Son's Body stretched on the Ground, and her Mother hanging by the Neck, she stood at first astonished at so horrid a Spectacle; but after a while recollecting her Spirits, the first thing she did, was to assist the Soldiers in taking down the Body; then covering it decently, she laid it by her Son's, whom embracing, and kissing his Cheeks, O my Son, said she, *it is thy too great Mercy and Goodness which has brought Thee and Us to this untimely End.* *Amphares*, who stood watching behind

hind the door, hearing this, rushed in hastily, and with a furious Tone and Countenance said to her, *Since you approve so well of your Son's Actions, it is fit you should partake in his Reward.* She rising up to meet her Destiny, only uttered those few Words, *I pray the Gods that all this may redound to the good of Sparta.*

And now the three Bodies being exposed to view, and the Fact divulged, no fear of Magistrates could hinder the People from expressing a detestation of it, or from hating the chief Contrivers, and especially *Leonidas* and *Amphares*; they were not afraid openly to declare, that so wicked and barbarous an Act had never been committed in *Sparta*, since first the *Doriens* inhabited *Peloponnesus*; the very Enemies in War, they said, were always cautious of spilling the Blood of a *Lacedæmonian* King, insomuch that in any Encounter they would decline, and endeavour to avoid them, so great a Respect they bore to the Royal Majesty. I must needs say, it is very remarkable, that in so many Battels fought betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and the other *Græcians*, none but *Cleombrotus* was killed, being wounded with a Javelin, at the Battel of *Leuctra*, a little before the days of King *Philip* of *Macedon*. I am not ignorant, that the *Messenians* affirm, *Theopompus* was also slain by Their *Aristomenes*; but the *Lacedæmonians* deny it, and say, He was only wounded: Be it as it will, it is certain at least that *Agis* was the first King put to death by the *Ephori*, with a form and pretence of Justice, and only for having endeavoured to reduce them to their original Institution, a Design well becoming the Courage of a noble *Spartan*.

Thus *Agis* had the fortune to be ill treated by his Enemies, and worse by his Friends; for if he had reason to complain of *Leonidas*, whose Life he

he had saved, much more of *Amphares*, in whose Friendship he reposed the highest Confidence: So unmercifully was he dealt withal by Others, who being himself of a most mild and generous Disposition, deserved to be beloved by all Mankind.





THE
L I F E
O F
C L E O M E N E S.

THUS fell *Agis*. His Brother *Archidamus* was too quick for *Leonidas*, and saved himself by a timely Retreat. But his Wife, then newly brought to Bed, the Tyrant forced from her own House, and compelled her to marry his Son *Gleomenes*, though at that time too young for a Wife; for he was unwilling that any one else should have her, she being Heiress to her Father *Gylippus*'s great Estate; for Person, the finest Woman in all *Greece*, very good-natured, of an exemplary Life; and therefore, they say, she did all she could, that she might not be compelled to this Match.

Being thus married to *Gleomenes*, she hated *Leonidas*, but to the Youth she shewed her self a kind

kind and obliging Wife. He, as soon as they came together, began to love her very much, and the constant Kindness that she still retained for the Memory of *Agis*, wrought somewhat of Concern in the young Man for him, so that he would often enquire of her concerning what had passed, and attentively listen to the Story of *Agis's* Designs. Now *Cleomenes* had a generous and great Soul; he was as temperate and moderate in his Pleasures as *Agis*, but not so very cautious, circumspect and gentle; A Spur of Passion always galled him, and his Eagerness to pursue that which he thought good and just, was violent and impetuous; to make Men willing to obey, he conceived to be the best Discipline, but likewise to break the stubborn, and force them to be better, was in his Opinion commendable and brave. This Disposition made him dislike the Management of the City; The Citizens lay dissolved in supine Idleness and Pleasures; the King minded nothing, designing, if no body gave him any Disturbance, to waste his Time in Ease and Riot; the Publick was neglected, and each Man intent upon his private Gain. It was dangerous, now *Agis* was killed, to mention the exercising and training of their Youth; and to set up for the ancient Bravery and Equality, was Treason against the State. It is said also that *Cleomenes*, whilst a Boy, studied Philosophy under (1) *Sphaerus* the *Borysthenite*, who coming to *Sparta*, was very diligent in in-

(1) Here we meet with a Philosopher born in the *Bosphorus*. We have already had them out of the Heart of *Scythia*. Wisdom penetrates into all the Corners of the Earth; there is no place so remote and barbarous, where Her Voice is not heard. This *Sphaerus* was born towards the End of the Reign

of *Philadelphus*, and flourished under That of his Son *Euergetes*. We find in *Diogenes Laertius* a Catalogue of his Works, which were very considerable. He was first *Zeno's* Disciple, and afterwards studied under his Successor *Cleanthes*.

structing

instructing the Youth: *Sphaerus* was one of the chief of (1) *Zeno* the *Citician's* Scholars, and it is likely that he admired the manly Temper of *Cleomenes*, and inflamed his generous Ambition. The ancient *Leonidas* (as Story saith) being asked *what manner of Poet he thought Tyrtæus?* replied, *An excellent one to whet the Courages of Youth, for being filled with Fury by his Poems, they daringly ventured on any Danger:* (2) Now the *Stoick* Philosophy is a dangerous Incentive to hot and fiery Dispositions, but being mixed with a grave and cautious Temper, is very good to fix and settle the Resolutions.

Upon the Death of his Father *Leonidas*, he succeeded, and observing the Citizens of all sorts to be debauched, the Rich neglecting the Publick, and intent on their own Gain and Pleasure, and the Poor being cramped in their private Fortunes, grown unactive, Cowardly, and not inclinable to the *Spartan* Institution and way of Breeding; in short, that He had only the Name of King, and the *Ephori* all the Power, he resolved to change the present Posture of Affairs. He had a Friend whose Name was *Xenares*, who had been his Lover, (such an Affection the *Spartans* express by the Word (3) *Εμπνευσις*) Him he sounded, and of Him he would commonly enquire what manner of King *Agis* was; by what Means, and by what Assistance he

(1) He calls him the *Citician* to distinguish him from *Zeno* of *Elea* a Town in *Laconia*, who flourished about two hundred Years after the Death of *Zeno* the *Citician*, who was so called because he was a Native of *Citium* a Town in *Cyprus*.

(2) *Plutarch* very justly compares the *Stoick* Philosophy to the Poetry of *Tyrtæus*, for there is nothing

more adapted to inspire a Man with Courage, and a thorough Contempt of Death; but it is too dangerous a Food for Minds vigorous and determined, of which *Cato* of *Utica* is an Evidence.

(3) Which signifies Inspiration, and was given by the *Spartans* to this Love of Boys, because it tended principally to inspire into them a desire after Wisdom and Virtue,

began

began and pursued his Designs. *Xenares* at first willingly complied with his Request, and told him the whole Story, with all the particular Circumstances of the Actions. But when he observed *Cleomenes* to be extremely affected at the Relation, and more than ordinarily moved at *Agis's* new Model of the Government, and begging a Repetition of the Story, he at first severely chid him, told him he was frantick, and at last left off all sort of Familiarity and Conversation with him, yet he never told any Man the Cause of their Disagreement, but would only say, *Cleomenes* knew very well. *Cleomenes* finding *Xenares* averse to his Designs, and thinking all Others to be of the same Opinion, consulted with None, but contrived the whole Business by Himself. And considering that it would be easier to bring about an Alteration when the City was at War, than when in Peace, he engaged the Commonwealth in a Quarrel with the *Achaëans*, who had given them fair Occasions to complain: For *Aratus*, a Man of the greatest Power amongst all the *Achaëans*, designed from the very beginning to bring all the *Peloponnesians* into one common Body. And to effect This, he undertook many Expeditions, and ran through a long course of Policy; for he thought This the only means to make them an equal Match for their foreign Enemies: All the rest agreed to his Proposals; only the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Eleans*, and as many of the *Arcadians* as inclined to the *Spartan* Interest, refused. Therefore as soon as *Leonidas* was dead, he fell upon the *Arcadians*, and wasted Those especially who bordered on *Achaia*; by this means designing to try the Inclinations of the *Spartans*, and despising *Cleomenes* as a Youth, and of no Experience in Affairs of State or War. Upon This the *Ephor* sent *Cleomenes* to surprize the *Athenæum* (dedicated

cated to *Minerva*) near *Belbina*, which is a Pass of *Laconia*, and was then under the Jurisdiction of the *Megalopolitans*: *Cleomenes* possessed himself of the Place, and fortified it; at which Action *Aratus* shewed no publick Resentment, but marched by Night to surprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenium*. The Design failed; for Those who were to betray the Cities into his Hands, were seized with a Panick, and despaired of Success; so *Aratus* retreated, imagining that his Design had been undiscovered: But *Cleomenes* wrote a jeering Letter to him, and desired to know, as from a Friend, to what Place he had marched his Army the Night before? and *Aratus* answering, That having understood his Design to fortifie *Belbina*, he made a Motion with an Intent to oppose him: *Cleomenes* returned, That he believed it, but desired him to give him an Account, if it stood with his Convenience, why he carried those Torches and Ladders with him?

Aratus laughing at the Jeer, and asking what manner of Youth this was; *Democrites*, a Spartan Exile, replied, If you have any Designs upon the *Lacedæmonians*, begin before this young Eagle's Talons are grown. Presently after This, *Cleomenes* being in *Arcadia* with a few Horse, and three hundred Foot, the *Ephori* fearing to engage in the War, commanded him home; but upon his Retreat, *Aratus* taking *Caphuæ*, they ordered him to take the Field again. In this Expedition he took *Methudrium*, and spoiled the Country of the *Argives*. The *Achaïans*, to stop his Victory, and secure their Friends, sent two thousand Foot and a thousand Horse against him, under the command of *Aristomachus*. *Cleomenes* faced them at *Palantium*, and offered Battel: But *Aratus* being dashed at his Bravery, would not suffer the General to engage, but retreated, being cursed by the *Acheans*, and hooted at, and scorned by the *Spartans*, who

wh
Cle
vau
the
feld
Wh
fist
war
my
my
leav
com
tus
van
Def
Bod
Gar
bein
Def
fend
for
Kin
Pow
Kin
two
conc
the
Ret
mar
and
no s
ther
Phy
whic

(1)
on fon
made

who were not above five thousand, for a Coward. *Cleomenes*, encouraged by this Success, began to vaunt among the Citizens a Sentence of one of their Ancient Kings, who said, (1) *The Spartans seldom enquired How many their Enemies were, but Where they were.* After This, marching to the Assistance of the *Eleans*, upon whom the *Achaians* warred, and about *Lyceum* falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat, he routed their whole Army, taking a great Number of Captives, and leaving many dead upon the Place; so that it was commonly reported amongst the *Greeks* that *Aratus* was slain. But *Aratus* making the best Advantage of the Opportunity, presently after the Defeat, marched to *Mantineæ*, and before any Body suspected it, took the City, and put a new Garrison into it. Upon this, the *Lacedæmonians* being quite discouraged, and opposing *Cleomenes's* Design of carrying on the War, he was eager to send for *Archidamus*, *Agis's* Brother, from *Mefena*, for He of the other Family had a right to the Kingdom; and beside, *Cleomenes* thought that the Power of the *Ephori* would be abated, when the Kingly State was filled up, and equally poised between the two Families. But Those who were concerned in the Murther of *Agis* understanding the Design, and fearing that upon *Archidamus's* Return they should be called to an Account, marched out privately to watch his Approach, and accompanied him into the City, where he was no sooner arrived, but they murdered him; whether it was without the Privity of *Cleomenes*, as *Phylarchus* has written, or with his Consent, which was forced from him by the Importunity

(1) This Maxim may hold good a necessary part of Wisdom to tell on some Occasions, but is not to be Noset. made a general Rule. It is often

of his Friends, to whose Suspicion and Jealousie he had abandoned that unhappy Prince, is uncertain; but in Effect the whole Blame fell on Them, who, if He was consenting, had forced him to it.

However *Cleomenes*, persisting still in the Resolution of new modelling the State, prevailed upon the *Ephori* by the Dint of Money to put him at the Head of an Army, and won over many others by means of his Mother *Cratesiclea*, who spared no Cost, and was very zealous to promote the same Interest; and though of her self she had no Inclination to marry, yet for her Son's sake, she wedded one of the chiefest Citizens for Wealth and Power. *Cleomenes* marching forth with the Army now under his Command, took (1) *Leuctra*, a Place belonging to *Megalopolis*; and the *Acheans* quickly facing him with a good Body of Men commanded by *Aratus*, in a Battel under the very Walls of the City, some part of his Army was routed. But *Aratus* commanding the *Acheans* not to pass a deep Hollow, and stopping the Pursuit, *Lydiadas*, the *Megalopolitan*, fretting at the Orders, and encouraging the Horse which he led, and pursuing the routed Enemy, fell into a Place full of Vines, Hedges, and Ditches; and being forced to break his Ranks, was put into a great Disorder. *Cleomenes* observing the Advantage, commanded the *Tarentines* and *Cretans* to engage him, by Whom, after a brave Dispute, he was routed and slain. The *Lacedaemonians* thus encouraged, with a great Shout fell upon the *Acheans*, and routed their whole Army. Of the Slain, which were very many, Some *Cleomenes* delivered upon Articles, but the

(1) This is different from the Town so called in *Baetia*, and Another of the same Name upon the *Messenian* Gulph in *Laconia*. Some take this Place to be the same with That which *Pausanias* calls *Laodicea*: ἐν τοῖς Λαοδικείοις καλεμένοις ἢ Μεγαλοπολίτις. lib. 11.

Body of *Lydiadas* he commanded to be brought to Him; and then putting on it a purple Robe, and a Crown upon its Head, sent a Convoy with it to the Gates of *Megalopolis*. This *Lydiadas* was the Man who resigned his Crown, restored Liberty to the Citizens, and joined the City to the *Achaean* Interest. *Cleomenes* being very much raised by this Success, and persuaded, that if Matters were wholly at his Disposal, he should quickly be too hard for the *Achaens*; taught *Megistones*, his Mother's Husband, That it was expedient for the State to shake off the Power of the *Ephori*, and to put all their Wealth into one common Stock for the whole Body; that *Sparta*, being restored to its old Equality, might be raised up to be Mistress of all *Greece*. *Megistones* liked the Design, and engaged Two or Three more of his Friends. About that time one of the *Ephori* sleeping in (1) *Pasiphae's* Temple, dreamed a very surprizing Dream; for he thought that in the Place where the *Ephori* used to sit, and hear Causes, he saw but one Chair, and that the Four others were removed, and whilst he was surprized at the Change, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying, *This is best for Sparta*. The Person telling *Cleomenes* his Dream, he was a little troubled at first, fearing that he used This as a Trick to sift him, upon some Suspicion of his Design; but when he was satisfied that the Relator spoke Truth, he took Heart again; and taking with him Those who he thought would be against his Model, he took *Eræa* and *Alcea*, two Cities of the *Achaens*, furnished *Orchomenium* with Pro-

(1) This Passage almost convin-
ceth me that *Pasiphae* was the
same with *Ino*, for They who had
a mind to consult her, went and
slept in her Temple, and whatever

they wanted to know, the Goddess
revealed to them in a Vision. See
the Remarque in the Life of *Agis*,
p. 14.

visions, besieged *Mantineæ*; and with long Marches so harrassed the *Lacedæmonians*, that Many of them desired to be left in *Arcadia*; and he satisfied their Request. With the Mercenaries he marched to *Sparta*, and by the way communicated his Design to Those whom he thought fittest for his purpose, and marched slowly, that he might catch the *Ephori* at Supper. When he was come near the City, he sent *Euryclidas* to the *Sussitium*, the Eating-place of the *Ephori*, under pretence of carrying some Message from Him relating to the Army: *Threicion*, *Phæbis*, and Two other young Men, who had been educated with *Gleomenes*, called at *Sparta* (1) *Samothracians*, followed at the Head of a small Party: And whilst *Euryclidas* was delivering his Message to the *Ephori*, they ran upon them with their drawn Swords, and slew them. *Agésilæus*, as soon as he was run through, fell, and lay as dead; but in a little time he rose, silently conveyed himself out of the Room, and crept undiscovered into a little House, which was the Temple of *Fear*, and which was always used to be shut, but was then by chance

(1) This is a very remarkable Passage, from whence we learn that those Children, who had been bred up together at *Sparta*, were called *Samothracians*. I must confess I never met elsewhere with any thing bearing the least Resemblance to this Appellation. What can be the Foundation of it? Did they consider the Youth educated in this manner as Brethren initiated in the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, to render their Union more perfect? This Word has been suspected by the learned *Palmerius*. He conceives that instead of *Σαμοθράκιαι* it ought to be read *Πυθίαις* *Pythians*, and founds his Conjecture up-

on the Authority of *Herodotus*, who tells us that each of the *Spartan* Kings had a right of chusing Two out of the Citizens to send to consult the Oracle at *Delphi* in their Name, and that those Persons so chosen, had the Privilege of eating with them in publick: But how could the Word *Samothracian* creep into the Text instead of *Pythian*? They are in all Respects so different, that it was impossible for any Transcriber to mistake the One for the Other. Besides, that Passage in *Herodotus* is foreign to what is mentioned here by *Plutarch*.

open;

CLEOMENES.

39

open; being got in, he shut the Door, and lay close: The other Four were killed, and above Ten more who came to their Assistance; to Those who were quiet, they did no harm, stopped none that fled the City, and spared *Agefilaus*, who came out of the Temple the next Day. The *Lacedaemonians* have not only Temples dedicated to *Fear*, but also to *Death*, *Laughter*, and the like Passions. Now they worship *Fear*, not as they do those Deities which they dread, esteeming it hurtful, but esteeming *Fear* as the strongest Cement of Society; and therefore *Aristotle* tells us that the *Ephori*, when they enter'd upon their Government, made Proclamation to the People, That they should shave their Whiskers, and be obedient to the Laws, that they might not be forced to be severe; inforcing this trivial Injunction (in my Opinion) to accustom their Youth to Obedience even in the smallest Matters. And it seems to Me that they dignified with the Name of Fortitude, not an Exemption from Fear, but on the contrary the Fear of Reproach, and a Dread of Infamy. For They who stand most in Fear of the Law, act with the greatest Valour and Resolution against their Enemies, and They who are the most tender of their Reputation, are the least sparing of Themselves in times of Danger. Therefore He spoke well who said That (1) *where there is Fear there likewise is Shame*. And This was well understood by *Homer*, when he makes *Helen* say to her Father-in-law *Priamus*,

Great Sir, at once I am seiz'd with Fear and Shame,

(1) This is the End of a Verse in some old Poet. And it is certain that Shame is the inseparable Companion of Fear. It is true we are not always ashamed of

That which we fear; but we fear That of which we are ashamed. In this manner the Verse ought to be explained, as *Socrates* has made it appear in his *Eutyphron*.

and when in another place, speaking of the *Græcian* Troops, he saith

In silence fearing those that bore the Sway.

For it is very commonly seen, that Men reverence Those whom they Fear; and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* placed the Temple of *Fear* by the *Suffitium* of the *Ephori*, by which they would have it signified that they looked on their Power (1) equal even to That of the Monarchy.

The next Day *Cleomenes* Proscribed eighty of the Citizens, whom he thought necessary to Banish, and removed all the Seats of the *Ephori* except One, in which He Himself designed to sit, and hear Causes; and calling the Citizens together, he made an Apology for his Proceedings, saying, *That the Government, as it was framed by Lycurgus, was composed of the Kings and the Senate, and that that Model of Government had continued a long time, and needed no other sort of Magistrates to give it Perfection. But afterward, in the long War with the Messenians, when the Kings being to command the Armies, had no time to attend Civil Causes, (2) they chose Some of their Friends, and left Them to determine the Suits of the Citizens in their stead. These were called Ephori, and at first behaved themselves as Servants to the Kings; but afterwards, by degrees, they appropriated*

(1) This Passage has been mistaken by some of the Interpreters. *Plutarch* saith that near the Refectory of the *Ephori*, the *Lacedæmonians* had raised a Temple to *Fear*, by which they made the Dignity of the *Ephori* equal to that of the Royalty it self. But how so? It was because they made it appear by that Action that the *Ephori* ought to be as much respected and

feared as their Kings.

(2) When *Theopompus* found the Authority of the Kings and the Senate to become too absolute and outrageous, he opposed to it That of the *Ephori*, as a necessary Curb and Restriction. *Cleomenes* is too much prejudiced to his own Cause; the *Ephori* were not at their first Institution the King's Ministers.

the

CLEOMENES.

45

the Power to Themselves, and erected a distinct sort of Magistracy. An Evidence of the Truth of This, may be taken from the usual Behaviour of the Kings, (1) who upon the first and second Message of the Ephori, refuse to go, but upon the third readily attend them: And Asteropus, the First that raised the Ephori to that height of Power, was not Ephore 'till many Years after their Institution; therefore whilst they modestly contained themselves within their own proper Sphere, it was better to bear with them than to make a Disturbance. But that an upstart, introduced Power, should so far destroy the old Model of Government, as to Banish some Kings, Murther Others, without bearing their Defence, and threaten Those who desired to see the best and most Divine Constitution restored in Sparta, was unsufferable. Therefore if it had been possible for him, without Bloodshed, to have freed Lacedæmon from those foreign Plagues, Luxury, Vanity, Debts, and Usury; and from those more ancient Evils, Poverty and Riches, he should have thought himself the happiest King in the World; having, like an expert Physician, cured the Diseases of his Country without Pain. But now in this Necessity, Lycurgus's Example favoured his Proceedings; who being neither King, nor Magistrate, but a private Man, (2) and aiming at the Kingdom, came armed into the Market-place, insomuch that the King Carilaus fled for fear to the Altar: But He being a good

(1) This Privilege of being twice disobedient to the Commands of the Ephori, was an Instance of some sort of Superiority the Kings had over them; a Mark of the Dignity of their Character. But the Necessity they were under of obeying the third Summons, undeniably shewed the Insignificancy of that Superiority, which was a mere Chimæra, and clearly proved that the Authority of the Ephori

was paramount to Theirs.

(2) Cleomenes insinuated this particular, aiming at the Kingdom, on purpose to make his Case resemble That of Lycurgus, and to take off the Odium that lay upon him. But he has done it without any manner of Foundation. Lycurgus had not the least Design of making himself King, Nothing was farther from his Thoughts, as we have seen in his Life.

Man,

The LIFE of

Man, and a Lover of his Country, readily consented to Lycurgus's Project, and admitted an Alteration in the State. Thus, by his own Actions, Lycurgus showed, That it was difficult to correct the Government without Force and Fear; in using which, he said, he would be so moderate, as never to desire their Assistance; but either to terrifie or ruin the Enemies of Sparta's Happiness and Safety. He commanded that all the Land should be left in common, and private Claims laid aside: That Debtors should be discharged of their Debts, and a strict Search made, Who were Foreigners, and Who not: That the true Spartans, recovering their Courage, might defend the City with their Arms, and that they might no longer see Laconia, for want of a sufficient Number to secure it, wasted by the Ætolians and Illyrians.

When he had thus delivered himself to the People, he was the First who brought his whole Substance into the Publick Stock. His Father-in-law *Megistones*, and all his Friends, did the same, and the rest of the Citizens followed the Example. When the Land came to be divided, he assigned a Share even to Those he had banished, and promised to restore them as soon as he had brought things to some Settlement and Tranquility. As soon as he had compleated the common Number of Citizens out of the best and most agreeable of the neighbouring Inhabitants, he raised a Body of four thousand Foot; and instead of their Javelins taught them the use of the two-handed Pike, and to carry their Shields by a String fastned round their Arms, and not by a Handle, as before. After This, he began to consult about the exercising and breeding of the Youth, (many Particulars of which, *Sphærus*, being then at *Sparta*, directed) and in a short time the Schools of Exercise and their Refectories recovered their ancient Decency and Order, most of the Citizens voluntarily applying themselves to

that Generous and *Laconick* Way of Living; whilst the Rest complied with it out of Necessity. And to the end the Name of Monarch might give no Jealousie to the People, he made *Eucleidas*, his Brother, Partner in the Throne; and this was the first time that *Sparta* had two Kings of the same Family. Then understanding that the *Achaëans*, and *Aratus*, imagined that this Change had disturbed and shaken his Affairs, and that he would not venture out of *Sparta*, and leave the City now unsettled by so great an Alteration, he thought it great and serviceable to his Designs, to convince his Enemies of the Strength and Disposition of his Army: And therefore making an IncurSION into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, he wasted the Country very much, and got a considerable Booty. And at last having seized on a Company of Comedians as they were on the Road from *Messena*, he built a Stage even in the Territories of the Enemy, settled a Reward of forty *Mineæ*, and was himself a Spectator of their Performances for a whole day together. Not that he was fond of such Entertainments, or took any Delight in them, but to insult over his Enemies, and to let them see by this piece of Contempt how secure he thought himself of his Conquest. For of all the *Græcian* and Royal Armies, That of *Sparta* alone was free from the Attendance of Stage-Players, Juglers, Singers, and Dancers of both Sexes. His Camp was clear of all sorts of Dissoluteness, Intemperance, Buffoonery, and Parties of Debauch and Wantonness. The young Men passed the greatest part of their time in their Exercises, and the more aged in forming and instructing them. And when they were at leisure their chiefest Diversions lay in genteel and handsome Repartees, and in pelting one another with some smart facetious Flights of Wit, the Advantages of which have been sufficiently

The LIFE of

Man, and a Lover of his Country, readily consented to Lyncurgus's Project, and admitted an Alteration in the State. Thus, by his own Actions, Lyncurgus showed, That it was difficult to correct the Government without Force and Fear; in using which, he said, he would be so moderate, as never to desire their Assistance; but either to terrifie or ruin the Enemies of Sparta's Happiness and Safety. He commanded that all the Land should be left in common, and private Claims laid aside: That Debtors should be discharged of their Debts, and a strict Search made, Who were Foreigners, and Who not: That the true Spartans, recovering their Courage, might defend the City with their Arms, and that they might no longer see Laconia, for want of a sufficient Number to secure it, wasted by the Ætolians and Illyrians.

When he had thus delivered himself to the People, he was the First who brought his whole Substance into the Publick Stock. His Father-in-law *Megistones*, and all his Friends, did the same, and the rest of the Citizens followed the Example. When the Land came to be divided, he assigned a Share even to Those he had banished, and promised to restore them as soon as he had brought things to some Settlement and Tranquility. As soon as he had compleated the common Number of Citizens out of the best and most agreeable of the neighbouring Inhabitants, he raised a Body of four thousand Foot; and instead of their Javelins taught them the use of the two-handed Pike, and to carry their Shields by a String fastned round their Arms, and not by a Handle, as before. After This, he began to consult about the exercising and breeding of the Youth, (many Particulars of which, *Sphaerus*, being then at *Sparta*, directed) and in a short time the Schools of Exercise and their Refectories recovered their ancient Decency and Order, most of the Citizens voluntarily applying themselves to

that Generous and *Laconick* Way of Living; whilst the Rest complied with it out of Necessity. And to the end the Name of Monarch might give no Jealousie to the People, he made *Eucleidas*, his Brother, Partner in the Throne; and this was the first time that *Sparta* had two Kings of the same Family. Then understanding that the *Acheans*, and *Aratus*, imagined that this Change had disturbed and shaken his Affairs, and that he would not venture out of *Sparta*, and leave the City now unsettled by so great an Alteration, he thought it great and serviceable to his Designs, to convince his Enemies of the Strength and Disposition of his Army: And therefore making an IncurSION into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, he wasted the Country very much, and got a considerable Booty. And at last having seized on a Company of Comedians as they were on the Road from *Messena*, he built a Stage even in the Territories of the Enemy, settled a Reward of forty *Mine*, and was himself a Spectator of their Performances for a whole day together. Not that he was fond of such Entertainments, or took any Delight in them, but to insult over his Enemies, and to let them see by this piece of Contempt how secure he thought himself of his Conquest. For of all the *Græcian* and Royal Armies, That of *Sparta* alone was free from the Attendance of Stage-Players, Juglers, Singers, and Dancers of both Sexes. His Camp was clear of all sorts of Dissoluteness, Intemperance, Buffoonery, and Parties of Debauch and Wantonness. The young Men passed the greatest part of their time in their Exercises, and the more aged in forming and instructing them. And when they were at leisure their chiefest Diversions lay in genteel and handsome Repartees, and in pelting one another with some smart facetious Flights of Wit, the Advantages of which have been sufficiently

ently made appear in the Life of *Lycurgus*. He instructed All by his Example, and was Himself a living Pattern of Temperance in the Eyes of every Man; his Course of Living being neither more stately, nor more expensive, than That of the meanest Citizen. And This was of great Advantage to him in the forwarding of his Affairs in *Greece*: For Men when they waited upon other Kings, did not so much admire their Wealth, costly Furniture, and numerous Attendance, as they hated their Pride and State, their Difficulty of Access, and scornful imperious Carriage towards Those who had any Business to negotiate with them. (1) Whereas in the Court of *Cleomenes*, who was a King indeed, and justly deserved that August Title, when they saw no Purple, no Robes of State upon him, no Chairs and Couches about him for his ease; and that he did not receive Petitions, and return Answers after a long delay, by a number of Messengers, Waiters, or by Bills, but that he rose and came forward to meet Those that came to wait upon him, staid, talked freely and graciously with All that had Business with him, they were extreamly taken, won to his Service, and professed that He alone was the true Son of *Hercules*. His constant Table was with three Beds only, very frugal, and after the *Laconick* manner; and when he entertained Ambassadors, or Strangers, two more Beds were added, and a little better Dinner provided by his Servants; but no Fricacies, no Dainties, only

(1) The Comparison *Plutarch* draws here between a vain-glorious, and modest Court, is very remarkable. Here we have a Prince whose Court has nothing in it proud, or ostentatious; He Himself is made up of Simplicity, Modesty, Affability, and Condescension, which gain him the Af-

fection of all Those, who are so happy as to approach him, and force them to confess, that He only is the genuine Descendant of *Hercules*. He only is a King indeed, the only Person worthy of that Title. This was a Truth of which *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor was thoroughly sensible,

the

the
tist
ter
and
the
wh
too
bro
Silv
few
mig
the
req
for
ing
stru
wer
wh
he
or
tho
wh
and
tho
fect
Dis
Fric
the
inof
pure
the
by
the
put
ther
mar
ing
cent

the Dishes were larger, and the Wine more plentiful: For he reproved one of his Friends for entertaining some Strangers with nothing but Pulse, and black Broth, such Diet as they usually had in their *Phiditia*; saying, *That upon such Occasions, and when they treat Strangers, it was not requisite to be too exact Laconians.* After Supper, a Stand was brought in, with a Brass Vessel full of Wine, two Silver Pots, which held almost a Quart a-piece, a few silver Cups, out of which He that pleased might drink, but no Liquor was forced on any of the Guests. There was no Musick, nor was any required where the Conversation was so agreeable, for he entertained the Company, sometimes by asking Questions, sometimes by telling agreeable and instructive Stories. His most grave and serious Discourses were always seasoned with some witty Turns, and when he had a mind to be facetious and diverting, he knew how to be so without any wanton Flight, or the least Tincture of Indecency: For he thought those ways of catching Men by Gifts and Presents, which other Kings use, to be mean and inartificial; and it seemed to Him to be the most glorious Method, and most suitable to a King, to win the Affections of Those that came near him, by pleasant Discourse, and unaffected Conversation: For a Friend and Mercenary differ only in This, That the One is gained by an agreeable Carriage, and inoffensive Conversation, and the Other is to be purchased only by Interest. The *Mantineans* were the first that made use of his Assistance; for falling by Night upon the Garrison placed over them by the *Achaens* they drove them out of the City, and put themselves under his Protection: He restored them their Polity and Laws, and the same Day marched to *Tegea*; and a little while after, fetching a Compass through *Arcadia*, he made a Descent upon *Pheræ* in *Achaia*, intending to force A-

ratus

ratus to a Battel, or bring him into Disrepute, for refusing to engage, and suffering Him to waste the Country. *Hyperbatas* at that time commanded the Army, but *Aratus* had all the Power amongst the *Acheans*. The *Acheans* marching forth with their whole Strength, and incamping in *Dumæa*, about *Hecatombeum*, *Cleomenes* came up, and thinking it not adviseable to pitch between *Dumæa*, a City of the Enemies, and the Camp of the *Acheans*, he boldly dared the *Acheans*, forced them to a Battel, and routing the *Phalanx*, slew a great many in the Fight, and took many Prisoners; thence marching to *Lagon*, and driving out the *Achean* Garrison, he restored the City to the *Eleans*. The Affairs of the *Acheans* being in this desperate Condition, *Aratus*, who was wont to continue Captain-General for two Years together, refused the Command for this Year, though they entreated and urged him to accept it: This indeed was ill done by him to quit his Post in that Extremity, and put Another at the Helm when the Storm was at the highest, and his Country in greater Danger than ever.

The very first Conditions proposed by *Cleomenes* to the *Acheans* were fair, and reasonable enough, and afterwards he acquainted them by his Ambassadors that he insisted only upon having the Command of *Greece* settled upon Him, and that in other Matters he would not differ with them, but would restore them their Prisoners, and the Places he had taken from them. The *Acheans* were willing to come to an Agreement upon those Terms, and invited *Cleomenes* to *Lerna*, where an Assembly was to be held; but it happened that *Cleomenes*, having heated himself with marching too hastily, drank a large Draught of cold Water when it was improper for him; This threw him into a Flux, which was attended with the Loss of his Speech. There-

There
sent
and
to
whic
its
and
whe
ing
grac
Year
Glor
vern
so m
Ache
they
darin
posa
redu
last
any
mos
For
ponn
a Y
ther
self
gonu
as a
him
ferin
free
the
self
try,

(1
Conc

Therefore being unable to continue his March, he sent the chiefest of the Captives to the *Achæans*, and putting off the Meeting for some time, retired to *Lacedæmon*. This ruined the Affairs of *Greece*, which was just then ready to recover it self out of its Disasters, and get the better of the Insolence and Rapaciousness of the *Macedonians*: For *Aratus*, whether fearing or distrusting *Cleomenes*, or envying his unlooked-for Success, or thinking it a Disgrace for Him who had commanded Thirty-three Years, to have a young Man succeed to all his Glory and his Power, and be Head of that Government which he had been raising and settling so many Years; he first endeavoured to keep the *Achæans* from closing with *Cleomenes*; but when they would not hearken to him, fearing *Cleomenes*'s daring Spirit, and thinking the *Lacedæmonians* Proposals to be very reasonable, who designed only to reduce *Peloponnesus* to its old Model, he took his last Refuge in an Action which was unbecoming any of the *Greeks*, most dishonourable to Him, and most unworthy his former Exploits and Bravery: For he called *Antigonus* into *Greece*, and filled *Peloponnesus* with *Macedonians*, whom He himself, when a Youth, had driven out of it, by forcing from them the Citadel of *Corinth*, and had declared himself an Enemy to all the Kings, especially to *Antigonus*, whom he loaded with a thousand Calumnies, as appears from the Writings he has left behind him. (1) In those Writings he magnifies his Sufferings, and the Services he did the *Athenians* in freeing their City from the Garrison placed in it by the *Macedonians*; and yet after all This He Himself calls those very *Macedonians* into his own Country, invites them into his own House, leads them

(1) *Aratus* wrote a History of the *Achæans*, and of his own Conduct, and Performances.

up even into the Womens Apartment, (1) and All for no other Reason but because he could not bear that a Descendant of *Hercules*, a King of *Sparta*, a Prince who finding the Government of his Country in the utmost Disorder, like an Instrument quite out of Tune, laboured to re-establish it, and restore it (2) to the grave *Doric* Tone invented by *Lycurgus*, should be stiled Captain-General of the *Tricæans* and *Sicyonians*. To avoid the coarse Cack, and short Cloak of the *Spartans*, and That which he thought the utmost Grievance, and was his greatest Charge against *Cleomenes*, the Extirpation of Wealth, and Reformation of Poverty, he basely subjected himself, together with *Achæa*, to the Diadem and Purple, to the imperious Commands of the *Macedonians*, and their *Satrapæ*. That he might not seem to be under *Cleomenes*, he sacrificed the *Antigoneia*, (Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus*) and sung *Pœans* Himself with a Garland on his Head, to the Honour of a rotten, consumptive *Macedonian*.

I write This not out of any Design to disgrace *Aratus* (for in many things he shewed himself vigorous for the *Græcian* Interest, and a great Man) but out of Pity to the weakness of human Nature; which even in such a Person so excellent, and so many ways disposed to Virtue, cannot attain to a State perfect, and irreprehensible. The *Achæans* meeting again at *Argos*, and *Cleomenes* descending from *Tegea*, there were great Hopes that all Differences would be composed. But *Aratus*, (*Antigo-*

(1) How artfully doth *Plutarch* represent to the Reader the Horribleness of this Behaviour in *Aratus*!

(2) That is to such a Simplicity, Thrift, and Equality, which will have the same Effect in a

State as the *Doric* Tone has in Musick. This *Doric* Tone has been mentioned on some former Occasion. After all This *Polybius* seems to justify this Conduct in *Aratus*, as we shall see when we come to his Life.

CLEOMENES.

49

nus, and He, having already agreed upon the chief Articles of their League) fearing that *Cleomenes* would carry all before him, and either win, or force the Multitude to comply with his Demands, proposed, *That he should come alone into the Town, and that for the Safety of his Person three hundred Hostages should be put into his Hands; but in Case he did not approve of that Proposition he might approach with his Troops to the Place of Exercise, called Cillarabion, which stood without the City, and treat there.*

Cleomenes hearing This, said, he was unjustly dealt with; for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now he was come even to their Doors show their Jealousie, and deny him Admission. At the same time he wrote a long Letter to the *Acheans* upon the same Subject, the greatest part of which contained an Accusation against *Aratus*. This was answered on the other hand by *Aratus*, who laid a heavy Charge against Him in an Assembly of the People.

Cleomenes therefore dislodged forthwith, and sent a Trumpeter to denounce War against the *Acheans*, not to *Argos*, but to (1) *Ægium*, as *Aratus* writes, that He might not have timely Notice, but be surpris'd by him before they could make Provision for their Defence.

Thus the whole League of the *Acheans* was put into a Ferment, most of the Towns being ready to Revolt, and break the Union; because on the one side the People had been made to hope for a Division of the Lands, and a discharge of their Debts; and on the Other, the Nobility grew weary of *Aratus's* Power, and were almost all of

(1) For as *Ægium* was a maritime Town lying on the Gulph of *Corinth* round about to the West, and consequently very remote from *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was in hopes of surpris'ing that Place before the Declaration of War could be brought thither from *Ægium*, and the Inhabitants put themselves in a Condition of Defence.

them provoked against him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these Misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achaëa*; where he first took *Pellene* by Surprise, and beat out the *Achaëan* Garrison; afterwards he made himself Master of *Pheneon* and *Pentelæon*.

Now the *Achaëans* suspecting that some treacherous Designs were carrying on at *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, sent their Horse and Mercenaries out of *Argos* for the Preservation of those Cities, whilst They Themselves went to celebrate the *Nemean Games* at *Argos*. *Cleomenes* advertised of all This, and hoping (as it afterward fell out) that upon an unexpected Advance to the City, now busied in the Solemnity of the Games, and thronged with numerous Spectators, he should raise a considerable Terror and Confusion amongst them; he marched with his Army by Night to the Walls, and taking the Quarter of the Town called *Aspis*, which lies above the Theatre, a Place well fortified, and hard to be approached, he so terrified them, that not a Man of them offered to resist, but agreed to accept a Garrison, gave twenty of their Citizens for Hostages, consented to a Treaty of Alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, and conferred the Chief Command on *Cleomenes*. This Action considerably encreased his Reputation and his Power; for the ancient *Spartan* Kings, though they many ways endeavoured to effect it, could never bring *Argos* to be steadfastly and sincerely Theirs. And *Pyrrhus*, a most experienced Captain, and brave Soldier, though he entered the City by force, could not keep Possession, but was slain Himself, with a considerable part of his Army. Therefore they admired this Dispatch and Contrivance of *Cleomenes*: and They who before derided him, for saying that he imitated *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in releasing the People from their Debts,

and

and in equally dividing the Wealth of the Citizens, were now persuaded that He was the sole Cause of this sudden Change in the Courage and Conduct of the *Spartans*: For whereas they were just before so very low in the World, and so unable to secure their Own, that the *Aetolians* invading *Laconia* carried off fifty thousand Prisoners at one time; upon which one of the *Spartan* Elders said, *the Enemy had done them a great Kindness, in taking such a heavy Charge off their Hands*; they had now no sooner restored their antient Customs, and primitive Institution, but as if *Lycurgus* was among them, and at the Head of their Affairs, they gave signal Proofs of their extraordinary Valour, paid a perfect Obedience to their Superiors, and by that Means gave *Sparta* the Preheminence in *Greece*, and recovered all *Peloponnesus*.

Argos being thus taken, *Cleone* and *Pblus* immediately surrendered to *Cleomenes*. *Aratus*, who was then at *Corinth*, where he busied himself in searching after Such as were suspected to be in the Interest of the *Lacedæmonians*, had no sooner heard of these Transactions, but he was extremely alarmed at it; and perceiving the City of *Corinth* inclined to *Cleomenes*, and the *Achaëans* in haste to return home; he summoned all the Citizens to an Assembly in the Town Hall, and in the mean time, without being perceived, stole away to the Gate, where a Horse was provided for him, and fled to *Sicyon*.

There was a Contest among the *Corinthians* Who should be the First to carry this News to *Cleomenes*, and they made such haste that, as *Aratus* tells us, they killed all their Horses. He adds, that *Cleomenes* was very angry with the *Corinthians* for letting *Aratus* escape: And that *Megistones* came from *Cleomenes* to him, desiring him to deliver up the Castle at *Corinth*, which was then Garrisoned by

the *Acheans*, and offered him a considerable Sum of Money for so doing; and that he answered, *Matters were not now in His Power, but He in Theirs.* Thus *Aratus* himself writes. *Cleomenes* marching from *Argos*, and taking in the *Trazenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermioneans*, came to *Corinth*, and blocked up the Castle, which the *Acheans* would not surrender; and sending for *Aratus's* Friends and Stewards, committed his House and Estate to their Care and Management; and sent *Tritymallus* the *Messenian* to him a second time, desiring that the Castle might be equally Garrisoned by the *Spartans* and *Acheans*, and promising to *Aratus* Himself double the Pension that he received from King *Ptolemy*: But *Aratus* refusing the Conditions, and sending his own Son with other Hostages to *Antigonus*, and persuading the *Acheans* to make a Decree for delivering the Castle into *Antigonus's* Hands, *Cleomenes* invaded the Territory of the *Sicyonians*, and by a Decree of the *Corinthians*, seized on all *Aratus's* Estate. In the mean time *Antigonus*, with a great Army, passed Mount *Gerania*, and *Cleomenes* thought it more advisable not to defend the *Isthmus*, but (1) to fortify and garrison the Passes in the *Onian* Mountains, and by long Sieges and Encounters to weary the *Macedonians*, than to venture a set Battel against Troops so warlike and experienced as were Those of *Antigonus*. By this Conduct he reduced *Antigonus* to the utmost Extremity; for he had not brought Victuals sufficient for his Army; nor was it easie to force a way through, whilst *Cleomenes* guarded the Passes. However he attempted one Night to get into *Peloponnesus* by the Haven of *Lechaem*, but was repulsed with a considerable Loss.

(1) These Mountains were called *ὄρεα ὄν*, that is the Mountains of *Asses*.

This

(1) understa
think o
by Sea f
the *Alph*
I think
nation.

CLEOMENES.

53

This extremely enlivened *Cleomenes's* Courage, and That of his Troops, who were so exalted with their Victory that they fell to their Supper with great Alacrity, and good Appetites. On the other hand *Antigonus* was in the utmost Despair, forasmuch as the Situation he found himself in left him no choice, but forced him upon Extrems the most difficult and hazardous in the Execution. For he had determined in Himself to march to the Promontory of (1) *Heraea*, and transport his Army in Boats from thence to *Sicyon*, which would take up a great deal of Time, and be very chargeable. Whilst he was under this Perplexity, that very Evening some of *Aratus's* Friends came from *Argos* by Sea, and invited him to return, for that the *Argives* had revolted from *Cleomenes*. And that the Person who had excited them to it was *Aristotle*, who found it no hard Task to persuade the common People; for they were All angry with *Cleomenes* for not releasing them from their Debts as they expected. Upon this Advertisement, *Aratus*, with Fifteen Hundred of *Antigonus's* Soldiers, sailed to *Epidaurus*; but *Aristotle* not staying for his coming, drew out the Citizens, and fought against the Garrison of the Castle, and *Timoxenus* with the *Achaëans* from *Sicyon* came to his Assistance. *Cleomenes* heard the News about the second Watch of the Night, and sending for *Megistones* angrily commanded him to go and set things right at *Argos*. This *Megistones* was the Man who had passed his Word for the *Argives*

(1) I must confess I do not understand how *Antigonus* could think of transporting his Army by Sea from *Heraea* a Town on the *Alpheus* in *Arcadia*, to *Sicyon*. I think This wants some Explanation. I am inclined to believe that the Word *Heraea* has been corrupted, or at least that the *Heraea* here mentioned was some other Town, of which we have now no Knowledge, and not That in *Arcadia*.

Loyalty, and persuaded him not to banish Those, of Whom he had just reason to be jealous. Having therefore immediately detached him with a Party of two thousand Soldiers, He continued to keep a watchful Eye upon *Antigonus*, and encourage the *Corinthians*, pretending that there was no great matter in the Stirs at *Argos*, but only a trivial disturbance raised by a few inconsiderable Persons, who would with little or no trouble be suppressed. But when *Megistones*, entering *Argos*, was slain, and the *Spartan* Garrison could scarce hold out, and frequent Messengers came to *Cleomenes* for Succours, He then began to fear lest the Enemy having taken *Argos*, should shut up the Passes, and securely waste *Laconia*, and besiege *Sparta* it self, which he had left without Forces: This made him raise his Camp, and march with his whole Army from *Corinth*. He was no sooner gone but *Antigonus* entered the City, and immediately placed a strong Garrison in it. In the mean time *Cleomenes* having strengthened his Army by the Junction of several Parties, which lay scattered up and down in his March, came up, and attempted to take *Argos* by Assault, but failing in that Enterprize he broke open the Vaults which lay under that Quarter of the City called *Aspi*, forced his Entrance that way, and joined the Troops he had placed there in Garrison, which still held out against the *Acheans*. After This he took some other Parts of the City by Assault, and drove the Enemy out of the Streets by the Assistance of the *Cretan* Archers, whom he ordered to attack them. But when he saw *Antigonus* with his *Phalanx* descending from the Mountains into the Plain, and the Horse on all sides entering the City, he thought it impossible to maintain his Post, and therefore having sounded a Retreat he retired safe with all his Men along the Walls of the

CLEOMENES.

55

the City, after he had performed many glorious Exploits in a short time, and in one March made himself Master of almost all *Peloponnesus*. And yet all these important Conquests were lost back in less time, than he had obtained them. For some of his Allies immediately forsook him, and the rest not long after put themselves under the Protection of *Antigonus*. His Army thus defeated, as he was leading back the Relicks of his Forces, Some from *Lacedæmon* met him in the Evening at *Tegea*, and brought him News of as great a Misfortune as That which he had lately suffered, and that was the Death of his Consort, whom he doted on so much, that when he was most prosperous, he would every now and then make a step to *Sparta*, to visit his beloved *Ægiatis*.

This News afflicted him extreamly, and he grieved, as a young Man would do for the loss of a very beautiful and excellent Wife; yet his Passion did not debase the Greatness of his Mind, but keeping his usual Voice, his Countenance, and his Habit, he gave necessary Orders to his Captains, and took care to secure the *Tegeans*. The next Day he retired to *Sparta*, and having at home with his Mother and Children bewail'd the loss, and finished his Mourning, he presently appeared about the publick Affairs of the State. Now *Ptolemy*, the King of *Ægypt*, promised him Assistance, but demanded his Mother and Children for Hostages: He was for some considerable time ashamed to discover This to his Mother, and though he often went to her on purpose, and was just upon the Point of breaking it to her, yet he still refrained, and kept it to Himself; so that she began to suspect somewhat, and asked his Friends, Whether *Cleomenes* had somewhat to say to Her, which he was afraid to speak? At last *Cleomenes*, venturing

to tell her, she laughed heartily, and said, *Was This the thing that you had often a mind to tell me, and was afraid? Why do not you put me on Ship-board, and send this Carcass where it may be most serviceable to Sparta, before Age wastes it unprofitably here?* Therefore all things being provided for the Voyage, they went to *Tenarus* on Foot, and the Army waited on them. *Cratesiclea*, when she was ready to go on Board, took *Cleomenes* aside into *Neptune's Temple*, where, with Tears in her Eyes, she kissed and embraced him, and finding him extremely dejected and discomposed, *Go to*, said she, *King of Sparta, let us dry up our Tears whilst we are here alone in the Temple, that when we go out no Tokens of Grief may be discovered, no Weakness appear unworthy the Honour and Dignity of Sparta; for That alone is in our Power; as for the Event of things, That is in the Hands of the Deity.* Having thus said, and composed her Countenance, she went to the Ship with her little Grandson, and bad the Pilot put presently out to Sea. When she came to *Egypt*, and understood that *Ptolemy* entertained Proposals and Overtures of Peace from *Antigonus*, and that *Cleomenes*, though the *Achaean*s invited and urged him to an Agreement, was afraid, for her sake, to come to Any, without *Ptolemy's* Consent, she wrote to him, advising him to do *That which was most becoming and most profitable for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old Woman and a little Child be always in fear of Ptolemy;* this Character she maintained in her greatest Misfortunes. *Antigonus* having taken *Tegea*, and plundered *Orchomenum* and *Mantineæ*, *Cleomenes* was shut up within the narrow Bounds of *Laconia*, and made such of the *Heilots* as could pay five *Attick Pounds*, free of *Sparta*, and by that means got together five hundred Talents; and arming two thousand Men after the *Macedonian* Fashion, that he

he
Le
co
gal
and
the
and
Am
men
for
fudd
five
if h
give
Ter
my
dire
the
to s
the
most
Fort
of h
Plac
out
moli
posi

(1)
under
diap
to rav
snap up
which
Words
Plutarch
that W
culous
by it t

CLEOMENES.

37

he might make a Body fit to oppose *Antigonus's* *Leucaspidae* (white Shields) he undertook a very considerable and very surprising Enterprize. *Megalopolis* was at that time a City of it self, as great and as powerful as *Sparta*, and had the Forces of the *Achaëans* and *Antigonus* incamping on its sides; and it was chiefly the *Megalopolitans* doing, that *Antigonus* was called in to assist the *Achaëans*. *Cleomenes* having a Design (1) to snap up that City, for that Expression is most suitable to an Action so sudden and unexpected, ordered his Men to take five days Provision, and so marched to *Sellasta*, as if he intended to spoil the Country of the *Argives*; but from thence making a Descent into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, and refreshing his Army about *Rhetium*, he marched (2) by *Helicon*, directly to the City. When he was not far off the Town, he sent *Panteus* with two Regiments to surprize the *Mesopyrgion*, (the Quarter between the two Towers) which he understood to be the most unguarded Quarter of the *Megalopolitans* Fortifications; and followed leisurely with the rest of his Forces. *Panteus* not only surprized that Place, but finding a great part of the Wall without Guards, he pulled down some Places, and demolished Others, and put All, who made any Opposition, and came in his way, to Death. Whilst

(1) This Passage has been misunderstood by the Interpreters, *διαπραγαί* does not signify here to ravage, plunder, but to snatch, snap up, or seize on a sudden, which is clearly proved by the Words that follow; for what *Plutarch* adds as an Explanation of that Word would have been ridiculous if he had meant no more by it than to ravage. Instead of

ταῦτα as it stands in the Text; it ought to be *ταύτην*, as we find it in some Manuscripts.

(2) Father *Lubin* is of Opinion that instead of *Helicon* it ought to be *Helisson*. For there is no place called *Helicon* in all *Arcadia*, but there is a Town called *Helisson*, and a River of the same Name, mentioned by *Pausanias*.

he

The LIFE of

he was thus busied, *Cleomenes* came up to him, and was got with his Army within the City, before the *Megalopolitans* knew of the Surprize: At last, as soon as it was discovered, Some left the Town immediately, taking with them what Money they had ready: Some armed, and engaged the Enemy; and though they were not able to beat them out, yet they gave their Citizens Time and Opportunity to retire in Safety: So that there were not above a thousand Persons left in the Town, all the rest flying with their Wives and Children, and escaping to *Messena*. A great Number even of Those who had armed and fought in Defence of the City escaped, so that very few were taken, amongst whom were *Lysandridas* and *Thearidas*, two Men of great Power and Reputation amongst the *Megalopolitans*; and therefore the Soldiers had no sooner seized them but they brought them to *Cleomenes*. *Lysandridas*, as soon as he saw *Cleomenes* afar off, cried out, Now, King of Sparta, it is in your Power to render your self the most Celebrated of Mankind, by performing an Action more illustrious than any of your Former. And *Cleomenes* guessing at his Aim replied, What mean You *Lysandridas*, sure you will not advise me to restore your City to you again? It is That which I mean, *Lysandridas* replied, I advise you not to ruin so brave a City, but to fill it with faithful and stedfast Friends and Allies, by restoring the *Megalopolitans* to their Country, and thereby become the Saviour of so considerable a People. *Cleomenes* paused a while, and then said, It is very hard to trust so far in these matters; but with Us let Profit always yield to Glory. Having said This, he sent the two Men to *Messena* with a Trumpeter from Himself, offering the *Megalopolitans* their City again, if they would forsake the *Achaean* Interest, and be on his side.

Though

T
li
th
an
D
th
dr
C
R
ap
me
th
be
rif
an
an
ma
cha
we
Ar
hap
Tr
bef
Bel
his
take
Aff
bein
gre
hast
(1
stanc
Mega
to be
than
liance
the
were

CLEOMENES.

59

Though *Cleomenes* made (1) these kind and obliging Proposals, yet *Philopæmen* would not suffer them to break their League with the *Acheans*; and accusing *Cleomenes* to the People, as if his Design was not to restore the City, but to take the Citizens too, he forced *Thearidas* and *Lysandridas* to leave *Messena*.

This was That *Philopæmen* who was afterward Chief of the *Acheans*, and a Man of the greatest Reputation amongst the *Greeks*, as I have made it appear in his Life. This News coming to *Cleomenes*, though he had before taken such strict Care that the City should not be plundered, yet then being in a Fury, and put out of all Patience, he rifled them of all their Coin, Plate and Jewels, and sent their Statues and Pictures unto *Sparta*; and demolishing a great part of the City, he marched away for fear of *Antigonus* and the *Acheans*. They in the mean time never stirred, but were holding a Council of War at *Ægium*, and *Aratus* as soon as he was informed of what had happened, entered the Assembly, mounted the Tribunal, wept a long while holding his Robe before his Face; 'till the People surprized at his Behaviour required him to declare the Subject of his Grief, when he answered briefly *Megalopolis is taken and destroyed by Cleomenes*. Hereupon the Assembly separated in much haste, the *Acheans* being extreamly surprized at the suddenness and greatness of the Loss. *Antigonus* did all he could to hasten to their Assistance, but when he found his

(1) *Polybius* extolls this Constancy and Generosity in the *Megalopolitans*, who chose rather to be deprived of their country, than act contrary to their Alliance and Engagements with the *Acheans*, and though they were invited, and might return

home in Safety, preferred the loss of their Estates, the Tombs of their Ancestors, their Temples, their City, and every thing else that was dear to them, to a Breach of Faith with their Confederates. What can be more Heroick and Illustrious? *Polyb. lib. 11.*

Army

The LIFE of

he was thus busied, *Cleomenes* came up to him, and was got with his Army within the City, before the *Megalopolitans* knew of the Surprize: At last, as soon as it was discovered, Some left the Town immediately, taking with them what Money they had ready: Some armed, and engaged the Enemy; and though they were not able to beat them out, yet they gave their Citizens Time and Opportunity to retire in Safety: So that there were not above a thousand Persons left in the Town, all the rest flying with their Wives and Children, and escaping to *Messena*. A great Number even of Those who had armed and fought in Defence of the City escaped, so that very few were taken, amongst whom were *Lysandridas* and *Thearidas*, two Men of great Power and Reputation amongst the *Megalopolitans*; and therefore the Soldiers had no sooner seized them but they brought them to *Cleomenes*. *Lysandridas*, as soon as he saw *Cleomenes* afar off, cried out, *Now, King of Sparta, it is in your Power to render your self the most Celebrated of Mankind, by performing an Action more illustrious than any of your Former.* And *Cleomenes* guessing at his Aim replied, *What mean You Lysandridas, sure you will not advise me to restore your City to you again? It is That which I mean,* *Lysandridas* replied, *I advise you not to ruin so brave a City, but to fill it with faithful and stedfast Friends and Allies, by restoring the Megalopolitans to their Country, and thereby become the Saviour of so considerable a People.* *Cleomenes* paused a while, and then said, *It is very hard to trust so far in these matters; but with Us let Profit always yield to Glory.* Having said This, he sent the two Men to *Messena* with a Trumpeter from Himself, offering the *Megalopolitans* their City again, if they would forsake the *Achean* Interest, and be on his side.

Though

(1)
fancy
Megal
to be
than a
liance
the A
were i

CLEOMENES.

59

Though *Cleomenes* made (1) these kind and obliging Proposals, yet *Philopæmen* would not suffer them to break their League with the *Achæans*; and accusing *Cleomenes* to the People, as if his Design was not to restore the City, but to take the Citizens too, he forced *Thearidas* and *Lysandridas* to leave *Messena*.

This was That *Philopæmen* who was afterward Chief of the *Achæans*, and a Man of the greatest Reputation amongst the *Greeks*, as I have made it appear in his Life. This News coming to *Cleomenes*, though he had before taken such strict Care that the City should not be plundered, yet then being in a Fury, and put out of all Patience, he rifled them of all their Coin, Plate and Jewels, and sent their Statues and Pictures unto *Sparta*; and demolishing a great part of the City, he marched away for fear of *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. They in the mean time never stirred, but were holding a Council of War at *Ægium*, and *Aratus* as soon as he was informed of what had happened, entered the Assembly, mounted the Tribunal, wept a long while holding his Robe before his Face; 'till the People surprized at his Behaviour required him to declare the Subject of his Grief, when he answered briefly *Megalopolis is taken and destroyed by Cleomenes*. Hereupon the Assembly separated in much haste, the *Achæans* being extreamly surprized at the suddenness and greatness of the Loss. *Antigonus* did all he could to hasten to their Assistance, but when he found his

(1) *Polybius* extolls this Constancy and Generosity in the *Megalopolitans*, who chose rather to be deprived of their country, than a contrary to their Alliance and Engagements with the *Achaans*, and though they were invited, and might return

home in Safety, preferred the loss of their Estates, the Tombs of their Ancestors, their Temples, their City, and every thing else that was dear to them, to a Breach of Faith with their Confederates. What can be more Heroick and illustrious? *Polyb. lib. 11.*

Army

Army to gather very slowly out of their Winter-quarters, and that the Occasion was very urgent, he sent them Orders to remain where they were, whilst He Himself marched with a considerable Body to *Argos*. This made the second Enterprize of *Cleomenes* seem to be undertaken with a Boldness full of Folly and Temerity, and yet on the contrary it was, (1) according to *Polybius*, entered upon with great Prudence and Foresight: For knowing very well that the *Macedonians* were dispersed into their Winter-quarters, and that *Antigonus* with only his Friends and a few Mercenaries about him lay in *Argos*; upon these Considerations he invaded the Country of the *Argives*, hoping to shame *Antigonus* to a Battel upon unequal Terms, or else if he did not dare to fight, to bring him into Dis-repute with the *Achæans*. And This accordingly happened; for *Cleomenes* wasting, plundering, and spoiling the whole Country, the *Argives* vexed at the Loss, ran in Troops to the King's Palace, and required him either to fight, or yield up the Command to the most Valiant. But *Antigonus*, like a prudent wary Commander, being of Opinion that it was not so shameful a Thing to be maligned by Strangers, as to expose himself rashly, and foregoing his present Safety trust all to Fortune, resolved not to march out, but stood fixed to his first Resolutions, which were not to venture an Engagement. *Cleomenes* in the mean time brought his Army up to the very Walls, and having uncontrolledly spoiled the Country, and insulted over his Enemies, drew off towards *Sparta*.

(1) In the Beginning of the Spring, saith he, *Cleomenes* flung himself into the Territories of the *Argives* with a desperate Temerity, as it was generally believed, by reason of the strong Forts that lay in his Passage, but with great Prudence and Judgment, in the Opinion of Men of the best Discernment and Understanding, &c. lib. 11.

CLEOMENES.

A little while after being advertised that *Antigonus* designed for *Tegea*, and thence to make an Incurſion into *Laconia*, he immediately marched his Army a way different from That *Antigonus* had taken, appeared again early in the Morning before *Argos*, and waſted the Fields about it: The Corn he did not cut down with Reaping-hooks and Sithes, as Men uſually do, but beat it down with great Staves made like Scymetars, as if with a great deal of Contempt and wanton Scorn he ſpoiled the Fields, and waſted the Country in his March; yet when his Soldiers would have ſet *Cyl-labaris*, the School of Exerciſe, on fire, he hindered the Attempt, reflecting, upon ſerious conſideration, that the Outrages committed at *Megalopolis* were the Effects of his Paſſion rather than his Wiſdom. He pretended to make ſuch little Account of, (1) and ſo much to deſpiſe *Antigonus*, who as ſoon as he was returned to *Argos* had placed Garrifons on all the Mountains round about, that he ſent a Trumpeter to the City for the Keys of the *Heraeum*, (*Juno's* Temple) that he might ſacrifice to the Goddeſs. When he had thus expoſed *Antigonus*, and ſacrificed under the Walls of the Temple, which was kept ſhut, he marched to *Phlius*; and from thence driving out Thoſe who were garrifoned in *Ologuntum*, he marched on by *Orchomenus*, and by theſe Enterprizes not only raiſed the Courage of his own Citizens, but made even his Enemies confeſs that he was an excellent Commander, and capable of the greateſt Undertakings. For with the Strength of one City, not only to fight the Power of the *Macedo-*

(1) He could not poſſibly give of his Enemy, who was Maſter a ſtronger Inſtance of the Con- of all the advantagious Poſts in tempt he had for *Antigonus* than thoſe Parts. To make ſuch a to ſend and demand the Keys of Demand was to act as if he had the Temple under the very Noſe been Conqueror.

nians,

nians, and all the *Peloponnesians*; not only to preserve *Laconia* from being spoiled, but to waste the Enemy's Country, and to take so many and such considerable Cities, is an Argument of no common Bravery.

He who first said, *That Money was the Sinews of Affairs*, seemed chiefly in that Saying to respect War: And *Demades*, when the *Athenians* had voted that a Navy should be made ready, but had no Money, said, *They should make Bread before they thought of Sailing*. And the old *Archidamus*, in the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, when the Allies desired that each Party's share of Contributions for the War should be determined, is reported to have said, *War is not to be kept to a set Diet*: For as well-breath'd Wrestlers do in time weary and tire out Those, who have only Skill and Activity on their side; so *Antigonus* coming to the War, with a great stock of Wealth, wearied out *Cleomenes*, whose Poverty made it difficult for him either to provide Pay for the Mercenaries, or Provisions for the Citizens. For in all other respects the Times favoured *Cleomenes*; *Antigonus* being called home by the Necessity of his own Affairs. For the *Barbarians* making their Advantage of his Absence, fell into and ravaged all *Macedonia*, particularly the *Illyrians* made their IncurSIONS from the North, and overran the whole Country, insomuch that the *Macedonians* sent, and urged him to return home to the Defence and Protection of his own Subjects. Their Letters were conceived in terms so pressing and importunate, that there is scarce room left to doubt but that if the Messengers had arrived never so little before the Battel, he had returned that very Moment, and left the *Acheans* to Themselves. But Fortune, that loves to determine the greatest Affairs by some single minute Circumstance, with-

out the Concurrence of which the Event would have proved quite contrary, shewed in this Conjunction such an exact niceness of Time, (1) that immediately after the Battel of *Sellasia* was over, and *Cleomenes* had lost both his Army and his City, the Messengers reached *Antigonus*. And This made *Cleomenes's* Misfortune more to be pitied; for if he could have forborn fighting two Days longer, there had been no need of hazarding a Battel, since upon the Departure of the *Macedonians*, he might have had what Conditions he pleased from the *Acheans*. But, as I observed before, his want of Money putting him under a Necessity of relying wholly upon his Arms, he was forced to engage with twenty thousand Men against a Body of thirty thousand, according to the Account left us by *Polybius*.

In this great Danger *Cleomenes* shewed himself a most excellent Commander, and was vigorously supported by the Zeal and Bravery of his Citizens, and They were seconded by the Mercenaries, who were no wise wanting in their Duty. But his Defeat was owing to the Armour of the Enemy far exceeding That of his Troops, and to the Weight and Impetuosity of the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

(1) This Battel is very clearly described by *Polybius* lib. 11. *Antigonus* had entered into *Laconia* with eight and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, whereas *Cleomenes* had but twenty thousand Men in All, but he supplied this Defect in the Number of his Troops by the Advantageousness of their Situation. He posted them upon two Mountains that were almost inaccessible, separated only by a strait Hollow which coasted with the River as far as *Sparta*; be-

sides which he had fortified those two Mountains with a good Ditch, and strong Ramparts, insomuch that after *Antigonus* had taken a View of them, he thought it adviseable not to attack him, but to encamp near him. *Cleomenes*, who was in great want of Money and Provisions, was at last constrained to an Engagement, and was beaten. It is worth the while of any military Man to peruse the Account *Polybius* has left us of this Battel.

Phylarchus

Phylarchus adds that Treason was practised against him, to which *Cleomenes* chiefly owed his Defeat. For *Antigonus* had ordered the *Illyrians* and *Acarnanians* in his Army to march about secretly, and encompass one of the Wings in the Spartan Army commanded by *Eucleidas* the Brother of *Cleomenes*, whilst He drew up the rest of his Army in order of Battel. *Cleomenes*, whilst he was taking a View of the Enemy from the Eminence where he was posted, could not perceive on which side the *Illyrians* and *Acarnanians* were drawn up, and began to suspect that *Antigonus* had designed them for some such Stratagem. Wherefore ordering *Damoteles* to be sent for, who commanded the Party appointed to guard the Camp, he enjoined him carefully to look after, and discover the Enemy's Designs in the Rear. *Damoteles*, who, Some say, had sold himself to *Antigonus*, assured him, that he had no reason to be solicitous about that Matter, for that every thing was safe in the Rear, so that he had nothing to do but to look before him, and take care of the Front.

Cleomenes, eased of his Suspicions by this Report, marched directly against *Antigonus*; and by the vigorous Charge of his Spartans made the Macedonian Phalanx give ground, and pressed upon them with great Advantage about half a Mile; but then making a stand, and seeing the danger the other Wing, commanded by his Brother *Eucleidas* was in, he cried out, (1) *Thou art lost, dear Brother,*

(1) He died indeed with the Character of a Man of Valour, but if he fulfilled the Duty of a Soldier, he was wanting in That of a Commander. *Polybius* tells us he did not make a right use of the Post where he was placed, for instead of falling upon the Enemy from that rising Ground, putting them in Disorder, and retiring back to his Post when Necessity required it, he acted the very reverse, and as if he had been sure of the Victory without moving a step for it, he stood stock still on the top of the Mountain, under a Notion that it was his Business to wait for the Enemy there,

ther, thou art lost, thou brave Example to our Spartan Youth, and Theme of our Matrons Songs!

Eucleidas's Wing being cut in pieces, and the Conqueror from that part falling upon His Battel, he perceived his Soldiers to be disordered, and unable to maintain the Fight, and therefore provided for his own Safety. It is said that most of the foreign Troops fell in that Action, and that of six thousand *Lacedæmonians* no more than two hundred were saved. When he came into the City, he advised the Citizens to receive *Antigonus*; and as for Himself, he said he would make choice of That, whether it was Life or Death, which should appear most beneficial to *Sparta*; and seeing the Women run out to meet Those who had escaped with him, that they took off their Armour, and presented Wine unto them, he retired into his own House. A young Woman, who was free born, but had been taken by him at *Megalopolis*, and had waited on him ever since the Death of his Wife, went according to Custom, and offered him some Refreshment, perceiving him to be hot, and tired with that day's Service, but tho' he was very thirsty, he refused to drink, and tho' very weary, to sit down; but armed as he was, he clapt his Arm side-way to a Pillar, and leaning his Forehead upon his Elbow, he rested his Body a little while, and ran over in his Thoughts what course he should take, and then with his Friends went presently to *Gythium*; where finding Ships fitted for the purpose, they embarked. *Antigonus* taking the City, treated the *Lacedæmonians* cour-

there, to the end that when he had defeated him he might find it difficult to retreat down a place so steep, and incommodious; but, as it was reasonable to imagine, the Event was quite contrary; for leaving no sufficient space behind him to retire to when the *Illyrian* Cohorts pressed hard upon him, he could not withstand their Assault because his Troops had no room to rally.

teously, and neither affronting, nor debasing the Dignity of *Sparta*, but permitting them to enjoy their own Laws and Polity, he sacrificed to the Gods, and dislodged the third Day: For he heard that there was a great War kindled in *Macedonia*, and that the Country was spoiled by the Barbarians; besides, he grew sick of a Consumption and continual Defluxion on the Lungs, yet he still kept up that he might return and free his own Country, and fall more gloriously upon an heap of slaughtered Barbarians. *Philarchus* tells us with great Probability of Truth, that in the Battel he gained against the *Illyrians* in *Macedonia* he shouted so loud that he broke a Vein. It was commonly reported (1) in the Schools, that crying out for Joy after the Victory, O glorious Day! he brought up a great quantity of Blood, which flung him into a Fever, of which he died soon after. And thus much concerning *Antigonus*.

Cleomenes sailing from *Cytheræ*, touched at another Island called *Ægyalia*, whence as he was about to depart for *Cyrene*, one of his Friends, *Therycion* by Name, a Man of an haughty Spirit in all Enterprises, and high and boasting in his Talk, came privately to him, and said thus; *We have Both of us shunned the most glorious of all kinds of Death, which is that of falling in Battel; tho' all the World has heard us say that Antigonus should never Triumph over the King of Sparta 'till he had slain him. We have another kind of Death still in our Power, which is next to the Former in Virtue, and in Glory. Whither do we madly sail, flying That which is near, and seeking That which is far removed? For if it is not disbo-*

(1) It was customary in the Schools to discourse publickly, and make Declamations upon the Actions of great Men. Instead of

Script λέσχαῖς, that is, Places of Resort where the People assembled together to enquire after the publick News and Occurrences.

nourable for the Race of Hercules to serve the Successors of Philip and Alexander; we shall save a long Voyage by delivering our selves up to Antigonus, who probably surpasseth Ptolemy as much as the Macedonians do the Egyptians; but if we think it mean to submit to Those whose Arms have conquered us, why should we chuse Him for our Lord, by whom we have not yet been vanquished? Is it that instead of One, we may appear inferior to Two, to Antigonus before Whom we are flying, and to Ptolemy, whom we are going to flatter? Or, is it for your Mother's sake that you retreat to Egypt? It will indeed be a very fine and desirable sight for her to shew her Son to Ptolemy's Women, now changed from a Prince into a Captive, and an Exile. Are we not still Masters of our own Swords? and whilst we have Laconia in view, shall we not here free our selves from this disgraceful Misery, and clear our selves to Those, who at Sellasia died for the Honour and Defence of Sparta? Or, shall we sit lazily in Egypt, enquiring what News from Sparta? and whom Antigonus hath been pleased to make Governor of Lacedæmon? Thus spoke Therycion; and this was Cleomenes's Reply; Base, and Cowardly as thou art, dost thou think by running into the Arms of Death, that easy and ready Refuge, to pass for a Person of Courage and Magnanimity? Without considering that This second Flight is more ignominious than the Former. Better Men than We have given way to their Enemies, having been betrayed by Fortune, or oppressed by Numbers; but He that sinks under Labour or Afflictions, and gives way either to the Opinions or Reproaches of Men, is overcome by his own Effeminacy and Softness: For a voluntary Death ought not to be chosen as a Relief from Action, but as an exemplary Action it self; and it is base either to live or to die only to our selves. That Death to which thou art now inviting us, is proposed only as a Release from our present Miseries, but carries along with it nothing

The LIFE of

either of Profit, or Bravery. And I think it becomes neither of us to despair of our Country; but when there are no hopes of That left, it will then be time enough to die, if we find our selves in that Disposition. To This Therycion returned no Answer; but as soon as he could get out of the Presence of Cleomenes he went toward the Shore, and ran himself thorough. But Cleomenes setting sail from *Ægialia* landed in *Libya*, and being honourably conducted through the King's Country, came to *Alexandria*. When he was first brought to *Ptolemy*, no more than common Civilities and usual Ceremonies were paid him; but when, upon tryal, he found him a Man of deep Sense, and great Reason, and that his plain *Laconick* way of Conversation carried a free Pleasantness with it, that he did nothing unbecoming the greatness of his Birth, nor bent under Fortune, and appeared a more faithful Counsellor than They who made it their Business to please and flatter; he was ashamed, and repented that he had neglected so great a Man, and suffered *Antigonus* to get so much Power and Reputation by ruining him. Therefore he heaped up Honours and Kindnesses on *Cleomenes*, and gave him hopes that he would furnish him with an Army and a Navy to recover *Greece*, and re-instate him in his Throne. Besides, he allowed him a yearly Pension of four and twenty Talents; a little part of which Sum supplied His and his Friends thrifty Temperance; and the rest was employed in doing good Offices to, and in relieving the Necessities of Those that fled *Greece*, and retired into *Ægypt*.

But the Elder *Ptolemy* dying before *Cleomenes's* Affairs had received a full Dispatch, and the Successor being a loose, voluptuous and effeminate Prince, under the Power of his Pleasures and his Women, his Business was neglected; for the King was so besotted with his Women and his Wine, that

th
E
an
A
an
M
se
be
M
So
an
his
his
if
bett
Sof
wer
aliv
him
ther
wer
any
men
of I
We
happ
at th
Susp

(1)
an hor
that a
sters n
vice,
and eat
his Di
thren.
the Ca
from t
that thi
contrad

that Balls, Musick and Dancing, were the only Employments of his most busie and serious Hours, and the greatest Affairs of State were managed by *Agathoclea* the King's Mistress, by her Mother, and an infamous Wretch called *Oinantes*, who was the Minister of his Pleasures. However at first they seemed to stand in need of *Cleomenes*; for *Ptolemy* being afraid of his Brother *Megas*, who by his Mother's means had a great Interest amongst the Soldiers, took *Cleomenes* into his Cabinet-Council, and acquainted him with the Design of taking off his Brother. He, though All were for it, declared his Opinion to the contrary, saying (1) *The King, if it were possible, should have more Brothers for the better Security and Management of his Affairs: And Sosibius*, the greatest Favourite, replying, *That they were not secure of the Mercenaries whilst Megas was alive; Cleomenes* returned, *That he need not trouble himself about that Matter; for amongst the Mercenaries there were above three thousand Peloponnesians, who were his fast Friends, and whom he could command at any time with a Nod.* This Discourse made *Cleomenes* for the present to be looked upon as a Man of Integrity and Power; but afterwards (*Ptolemy's* Weakness increasing his Fear; and, as it usually happens, where there is no Judgment and Wisdom at the bottom, placing his Security in Jealousie and Suspicion) rendered *Cleomenes* suspected to the

(1) *Cleomenes* speaks here like an honest Man, who is persuaded that a Prince cannot have Ministers more affectionate to his Service, and more ready to assist, and ease him under the Weight of his Dignity than his own Brethren. This indeed ought to be the Case, but we clearly learn from the History of those times that this noble Principle has been contradicted by Experience, and

that the Brothers of all those Kings have been their most dangerous Enemies. and in short that nothing has been more common in the Royal Families than the Murder of their Brethren. *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Demetrius*, that that Practice was in Politicks like an Axiom in Geometry, which is received by All, and contested by None.

Courtiers, as having too much Interest with the Mercenaries; and many had this Saying in their Mouths, *That he was a Lion amidst a Flock of Sheep*; for such he seemed to be in the Court, slyly overlooking and taking notice of the Management of Affairs; therefore when he desired a Navy and an Army from the King, his Petition was rejected. But when he understood that *Antigonus* was dead, that the *Acbaians* were engaged in a War with the *Ætolians*, and that the Affairs of *Peloponnesus*, being now in very great Distraction and Distress, required and invited his Assistance, he desired leave to depart only with his Friends, but could not obtain That, the King not so much as hearing his Petition, being shut up amongst his Women, and wasting his Hours in Debauchery and Frolicks. But *Sofibius*, the chief Minister, thought that *Cleomenes* being detained against his Will, would grow ungovernable and dangerous, and yet that it was not safe to let him go, being an aspiring, daring Man, and well acquainted with the Diseases and Weakness of the Kingdom; for no Presents, no Gifts could win him to a Compliance. But as the Ox *Apis*, though seemingly revelling in all possible Plenty and Delight, continues mindful of the Condition of Life which is natural to him, desires to frisk it about the Fields in full Liberty, and betrays the Impatience with which he bears the Restraint he is under; so *Cleomenes* found no Relish in that soft effeminate way of living, but like *Achilles*,

*Whilst there, his Heart did waste with secret Grief,
And he was eager for the noisie Wars.*

His Affairs standing in this Condition, *Nicagoras*, the *Messenian*, came to *Alexandria*, a Man that deeply hated *Cleomenes*, but pretended to be his Friend;

CLEOMENES.

71

Friend; for he had formerly sold him a fair Estate, but never received the Money for it, because the King was either unable, or else, by reason of his Engagement in the Wars, and other Distractions, had no time to pay him. *Cleomenes* seeing him Landing (for he was then walking upon the Key) kindly saluted him, and asked, *What Business brought him to Ægypt?* *Nicagoras* returned his Compliment, and told him, *That he came to bring some excellent War-horses to the King.* And *Cleomenes*, with a Smile subjoined, *I rather wish you had brought Pimps, Whores, and Pathicks; for Those are now the King's chief Delight.* *Nicagoras* at that time smiled at the Conceit; but a few Days after, he put *Cleomenes* in mind of the Estate that he had bought of him, and desired his Money, protesting, That he would not have troubled him, if his Merchandize had turned to that Account, which he thought it would. *Cleomenes* replied, That he had not a Penny left of all that had been given him: At which Answer, *Nicagoras* being nettled, told *Sofibius* *Cleomenes's* Scoff upon the King. He caressed him for the Discovery, but desiring to have some greater Reason to excite the King against *Cleomenes*, persuaded *Nicagoras* to leave a Letter written against *Cleomenes*, importing that he had a Design, if he could have gotten Ships and Soldiers, to surprize *Cyrene*: *Nicagoras* wrote such a Letter, and left *Ægypt*. Four Days after *Sofibius* brought the Letter to *Ptolemy*, pretending it was just then delivered him, and with a bitter Invective excited the Fury of the Youth; upon This it was agreed, that *Cleomenes* should be confined to a large Apartment, and treated as formerly, but not suffered to go out of it: This Usage extreamly afflicted *Cleomenes*, but his Hopes became desperate upon the following Accident. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chrysermus*, a Favourite of the King's, always carried himself fairly

towards *Cleomenes*; they contracted a near Acquaintance, and would talk freely together about the State. He, upon *Cleomenes's* Desire, came to him, and discoursed him with much Moderation and Tenderness, endeavoured to apologize for the King's Conduct, and put a plausible colouring upon his Behaviour; but as he went out again, not knowing that *Cleomenes* followed him to the Door, he very severely reprimanded the Keepers, for looking so carelessly after a wild Beast, whom, if he once got out of their Hands, they would find it a hard matter to recover. This *Cleomenes* Himself heard, and retiring before *Ptolemy* perceived it, told his Friends what had happened. Upon This they cast off all their former Hopes, and determined for violent Proceedings, resolving to be revenged on *Ptolemy* for his base and unjust Dealing, to have Satisfaction for the Affronts, to die as it became *Spartans*, and not stay 'till they were butchered like fatted Sacrifices. For it was both grievous and dishonourable for *Cleomenes*, who had scorned to come to Terms with *Antigonus*, a brave Warrior, and a Man of Action, to wait an effeminate King's Leisure, 'till he should lay aside his Fiddle, and end his Dance, and then kill him. These Courses being resolved on, and *Ptolemy* happening at the same time to make a Progress to *Canopus*, they first spread abroad a Report that the King had determined to set him at Liberty. In Consequence of this Report, it being customary with these Princes when they had a mind to enlarge a Prisoner to send him a Supper, and several magnificent Presents the Night before, *Cleomenes's* Friends provided such an Entertainment and Presents, which they sent to him in Prison, and imposed on the Keepers by making them believe they came from *Ptolemy*. *Cleomenes* adorning his Head with a Chaplet of Flowers, sacrificed to the Gods, sent

a Portion of the Sacrifice to his Keepers, and feasted his Friends at his own Table.

It is said he began the Action sooner than had been intended, because one of his Domesticks, who was in the Secret, had lain abroad all Night with a Woman, who was his Mistress. This made him afraid of a Discovery; wherefore towards Noon, whilst the Guards, whom he had plentifully dosed the Night before, were still fast asleep, he put on his Coat of Mail, and opening the Seam on his Right Shoulder, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, he issued forth, together with his Friends, provided in the same manner, making Thirteen in All.

Hippotas, one of them, tho' Infirm and Lane, followed the first Onset very well, but when he perceived they slackened in their Advances, and waited for Him, he desired them *to run him through, and not ruin their Enterprize, by staying for an useless, unprofitable Man.* By Chance they met with an *Alexandrian*, who was leading a Horse in the Street, which they took from him, and having mounted *Hippotas* they ran through all the Streets, encouraging and exhorting the People to join with them in the Cause of Liberty. They indeed had Courage enough to commend the Undertaking, and admire *Cleomenes* for his undaunted Resolution, but not a Man of them had the Heart to follow and assist him. Three of them fell on *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chrysermus*, as he was coming out of the Palace, and killed him: Another *Ptolemy*, the Governour of the City, advancing against them in a Chariot, they set upon, dispersed his Guards and Attendants, and pulling him out of the Chariot, killed him upon the Place. Then they made toward the Castle, designing to break open the Prison, and take the Prisoners to their Assistance; but the Keepers were too quick for them, and secured the Passages. Being
baffled

baffled in this Attempt, *Cleomenes* with his Company roamed about the City, none joining with him, but All retreating from, and flying his Approach: Therefore despairing of Success, and saying to his Friends, *That it was no wonder that Women ruled over Those Men who fled from Liberty*; he exhorted them all to dye bravely, and becoming the Dignity of their former Actions. *Hippotas* was at his own Request first dispatched by One of the Youngest in the Company; when That was done, they every Man fell generously upon his own Sword, All except *Panteus*, who had been the Foremost in surprizing the City of *Megalopolis*. This Person was of a very graceful Figure, in the Flower of his Age, and more exactly formed in the *Spartan* Discipline than any of his Companions, in Consideration of which the King had conceived a particular Value for him, and loved him tenderly. He now commanded him to wait 'till he saw them all expired, after which he gave him leave to kill Himself. When the rest had fallen upon their Swords, and lay extended on the Ground, *Panteus* examined them One by One, and pricked them with the Point of his Sword, to try if Life remained in any of them. He pricked *Cleomenes* in the Foot, and finding it raised a Contorsion in his Face kissed him, sat down by him, and as soon as he perceived that he was expired he embraced him, and slew himself upon his Body

Thus fell *Cleomenes*, that great, brave Man, after he had been King of *Sparta* Sixteen Years. When his Death came to be known publicly in the City, *Cratesiclea*, though a Woman of a great Spirit, could not bear up under the insupportable weight of her Afflictions; but embracing *Cleomenes's* Children abandoned herself to Grief and Lamentation. The Eldest of those Children got unsuspected to the top of the House, from whence
he

he flung himself headlong. He was much bruised with the Fall, but not killed, and when they came to take him up he was very angry, and highly resented it that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

As soon as *Ptolemy* was informed of this Adventure, he ordered the Body of *Cleomenes* (1) to be inclosed in a Hide, and hung up, and that his Children, his Mother, and the Women that attended her, should be put to Death. Among these was the Wife of *Panteus*, a Lady of a most exquisite Beauty, and stately Presence. They had been just married, and were in the First Transports of Love, when these Calamities fell upon them.

When *Panteus* went with *Cleomenes* from *Sparta*, she was very desirous to embark with him, but her Parents prevented it, and held her in close Confinement; Notwithstanding which in a few days after she found means to provide herself with a Horse, and a little Money, and so escaped to the Port of *Tenarus*, where she immediately embarked, got safe to her Husband in *Aegypt*, and cheerfully shared with him in all the Hardships and Inconveniences of a Foreign Country.

When the Soldiers were conducting *Cratesiclea* to the Place of Execution she supported her, held up her Train, exhorted her to exert on that Occasion all her Courage and Resolution; tho' the Princess wanted no such Exhortation, but looking

(1) This I take to be the meaning of the Passage, which Some have translated as if the King had given Orders to have the Body *fleed*, and Others *embalmed*, both which are equally erroneous; for, as *H. Stephens* has plainly proved, *καταβυσσεν* can never signify *to flea*, but *to enclose, to cover with a Skin*. *Thucydides* has made use of it in that Sense. *Ptolemy*

commanded the Corps of *Cleomenes* to be wrapped up in a Skin, in order to preserve it the longer, and hinder the Beasts from devouring it. They who have expounded it by *embalming*, instead of *καταβυσσεν* as have read it *καταμυρσεν*. But this Correction is both absurd and unnecessary.

The L I F E of

Death in the Face with the greatest unconcern, desired no other Favour than to die before her Children. Notwithstanding which the Executioners first murdered Them before her Eyes, and then dispatched the unhappy Princess her self, who in that Article of the utmost Misery gave no other Instance of her Anguish than in the uttering of these Words, *Ab! my Children whither are you gone?* The Wife of *Panteus*, who was of a strong make, and the largest size, girt her Robe about her, and with a settled Composure of Mind took care of her Companions as they were executed One after the Other, and shrouded their Corps in such Linnen as she could get, and had brought with her for that purpose. At last when her own turn was come she prepared Her self, and letting her Garments down about her, forbidding any to approach her Person, or behold her, except the Executioner, she suffered him to do his Office, and died the Death of a Heroine. So careful had she been in adjusting her self, and maintaining in Death that decent Modesty which she had preserved inviolable whilst she lived, that no one was wanted to render Her the last Offices by guarding her breathless Body, and throwing a Veil over it. Thus in this fatal Tragedy, wherein the Men were rivaled by the Women, who contended which Sex should meet Death with the greatest Intrepidity, *Lacedæmon* made it appear that it is not in the Power of Fortune to commit a Violence upon Virtue. A few Days after, (1) Those who guarded the Body of *Cleomenes*, (2) saw a great Snake winding

(1) This was a common Custom. Soldiers were ordered to watch the Corps of Those who had been executed, and prevent their being carried off to be interred. *Miles, qui crucem asserva-*

bat, ne quis ad Sepulturam corpora detraheret, saith *Petronius* in his *Ephesian Matron*.

(2) The Snake twined round his Head, and covered his Face, because They were the only *Paris* that

winding about his Head, and covering his Face, so that no Bird of Prey would fly at it. This made the King superstitiously afraid, and set the Women of the Court upon several Lustrations, in a firm Persuasion that they had murdered a Man beloved of the Gods, and of a Nature superior to Humanity. All the People ran in Processions to the Place, and gave *Cleomenes* the Title of *Hero*, and Son of the Gods, 'till the Philosophers satisfied them by saying, (1) That as dead Oxen breed Bees, Horses (2) Wasps, and Beetles rise from the Carcasses of dead Asses; so the (3) Juices of which humane Marrow consists being fixt, and coagulated,

that were naked, all the rest being wrapped up in a Skin. This made the Thing seem prodigious, and at the same time proved that there was nothing wonderful in it; for it was obvious enough to conceive that the Snake had crept up the Cross and fastened upon the Head and Face, as the only Parts that were bare, and uncovered.

(1) This is what was generally believed by the Antients. *Varro* teacheth it as a thing well known and experienced *primum Apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto, itaque Archelaus in Epigrammate ait eas esse, Bodes θημιμένης πεποιημένα Τεκνα, Idem ἵππων μὲν σφῆκες γενεὰ, μόσχων δὲ μελίωται, lib. iii. de R. R. cap. xvi. Virgil has followed this Fable, and set it off finely in the Fourth Book of his Georgicks.*

(2) This we find in *Archelaus's* Epigrams cited as above by *Varro*, ἵππων μὲν σφῆκες γενεὰ, and after Him *Ovid*,

Pressus humo bellator equus cratronis origo.

(3) We learn from the Paradoxes of *Antigonus* that *Archelaus* had made Verses upon this Subject, and addressed them to *Ptolemy*; in one of his Epigrams he saith

— Ἄνδρὸς μὲν κοίλης ἐκ
μυελῶ ῥάχεως
Δεινὸς γίνετ' ὄφης, νέκυος
δειλοῖο σαπέντος.

a terrible Serpent engenders out of human Marrow when the Corps is putrified. It is very likely that the *Ptolemy* to whom these Verses were addressed was this very *Ptolemy Philopater*, and that the Poet feigned these monstrous Generations on purpose to cheer up that Prince, and put him out of his Fright. For Princes may be persuaded to swallow any thing if it relates to Subjects of which They are ignorant, especially if it tends to encourage them, and silence

The LIFE, &c.

lated, produce Serpents. And This having been observed by the Antients they appropriated a Serpent rather than any other Creature to Heroes.

lence the Clamours of a guilty Conscience. Ovid has taken from *Arthelaus* the following Verses,

*Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta
est spina Sepulchro
Mutari credant humanas angue
medullas.*



THE

ob-
ent

Ha
gue



E



L. Cheron inv.

Vol. 7: p. 79.

G. F. Guchte Scul.

40

T

L

Ag
(1)
the
and
and
U
wh
to
ha

son
had
and
sing



T H E
L I F E
O F
TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING dispatched the foregoing History, we shall proceed to take a View of a pair of *Romans*, not less remarkable for their Misfortunes than the former; and compare with the Lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, These of *Tiberius* and *Caius*. (1) They were the Sons of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who though he had been once *Censor*, twice *Consul*, and twice had triumph'd, yet was more renowned and esteemed for his *Virtue* than his *Honours*. Upon this Account, after the Death of that *Scipio* who defeated *Hannibal*, he was thought worthy to match with his Daughter *Cornelia*; though there had been no Friendship or Familiarity between

(1) *Tiberius Gracchus*, the Grandson of *Publius Sempronius*, who had been twice *Consul*, *Censor*, and chief *Augur*, was a Man of singular Wisdom and Probity, and

One of the very best of all the *Romans*. This Commendation is give him by *Cicero*, lib. 1. de *Divinatione*.

Scipio

Scipio and *Him*, but rather the contrary. There goes a Report, that he once found in his Bed-chamber a couple of Snakes, and that the (1) *Sooth-sayers* being consulted concerning the *Prodigy*, advised, That he should neither kill them Both, nor let them Both escape; saying, That if the Male-Serpent was killed, *Tiberius* should die, and if the Female, *Cornelia*: And that therefore *Tiberius*, who extremely loved his Wife, and thought besides that it was much more becoming *Him*, who was an old Man, to die, than *Her*, who as yet was in the Flower of her Age, (2) killed the Male-Serpent, and let the Female escape: And soon after *Himself* died, leaving behind him twelve Children born to him by *Cornelia*.

Cornelia taking upon her the Care of her Family, and Education of her Children, approved herself so modest a Matron, so indulgent a Mother, and so constant and noble-spirited a Widow, that *Tiberius* seemed to all Men to have done nothing unreasonable, in chusing to die for so great a Woman; who, when King *Ptolemy* Himself would have married her, and proffered her his Crown, refused it, and chose rather to live a Widow. In this State she continued, and lost all her Children, except one Daughter, who was married to *Scipio* the Younger; and two Sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, whose Lives we are now writing.

These she brought up with so great Care, that though they were without Dispute of the noblest Family, and had the best natural Parts among the

(1) *Cicero* relates this History out of the Memoirs of *Caius Gracchus* the Son of *Tiberius*, in his first Book *de Divinatione*; and what is very remarkable he does it with an Intent not to overthrow, but prove the Certainty of that Art, and shew what Con-

fidence ought to be placed in it.

(2) Why must he kill him? It had been better to have kept them Both alive as long as he could, and so have continued with his Lady. There would have been much more Sense in that Expedient than in the Former.

Roma
Virtu
Now
Pollu
yet t
Coun
in the
Horse
ment
comm
after
Mind
public
ly ap
ceed,
Tib
his L
and c
So th
the o
ed hi
the R
his G
all th
As C
Athen
his T
Caius

(1) C
Oratore
Oration
Death
Proof
of his
sort of
nunciat
tho. qu
menisti
ferretur
"feran
V

Romans; yet they seemed to owe their eminent Virtues, more to their Education than their Birth. Now, as in the Statues and Pictures of *Castor* and *Pollux*, though the Brothers resemble one another, yet there is a difference to be perceived in their Countenances; between the One, who delighted in the *Castus*, and the Other, who was famous for Horsemanship: So tho' there was a great Agreement between these two noble Youths, in their common pursuit after Fortitude and Moderation, after Liberality and Eloquence, and greatness of Mind; yet in their Actions and Administrations of publick Affairs, a Disagreement as great manifestly appeared. It will not be amiss, before we proceed, to set down the Difference between them.

Tiberius, in the Make of his Countenance and his Looks, in his Gesture and Motion, was gentle and composed; but *Caius*, earnest and vehement: So that in their publick Speeches to the People, the one modestly used very little Action, nor changed his Place; (1) the other would walk about in the *Rostrum*, and in the heat of his Orations pull his Gown off his Shoulders, and was the First of all the *Romans* that made use of such Gestures: As *Cleon* is said to be the first Orator among the *Athenians*, who pulled off his Cloak, and smote his Thigh, in his Harangues to the Multitude. *Caius* his Oratory was impetuous, and so patheti-

(1) Cicero, in his third Book de Oratore, mentions a Passage in an Oration spoken by *Caius* after the Death of *Tiberius*, which is a Proof of the Force and Vivacity of his Eloquence, and with what sort of Action he attended his Pronunciation. *Quid fuit in Graccho. quam, tu Catule, melius meministi, quod me puero tantopere ferretur? Quo me miser con-*

*“ tollimne? at Fratr̃is Sanguine
“ redādat. An domum? Ma-
“ tremne ut miseram, lamentan-
“ temque videam, & abjectam?”*
*Qua sic ab illo acta esse constabat,
oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut la-
crymas tenere non possent.* The ve-
hement and extravagant Gestures
which distinguish the modern
Orators of that Country from
Those of others, are, it seems, of a
very ancient Original.

cal, that it raised Horror in the Auditory; but *Tiberius* was more mild, and apt to move Pity and Compassion: In his Words he was pure and natural, yet laborious and accurate; but *Caius* was pompous and figurative. So likewise in their way of Living, and at their Tables, *Tiberius* was frugal, and no Affecter of Variety: But *Caius*, if indeed compared with other Men, moderate enough; but in respect of his Brother, too curious a Lover of Rarities, and profuse; which *Drusus* objected to him when he told him, That he had bought certain *Delphick* Tables of Silver so exquisitely wrought, that they amounted to the Value of twelve hundred and fifty Drachmas for every Pound weight.

The same difference that appeared in their Speaking, was observable also in their Tempers: The One was smooth and sedate, the Other rough and passionate; and to that degree, that often in the midst of his Orations he was so hurried away by his Passion even against his own Will, that he fell to give ill Language; and so strain'd his Voice, that he could not proceed in the Speech. For a Remedy to this Excess, he made use of an ingenious Servant of his, one *Licinius*, who stood constantly behind him with a *Pitch-pipe*, or Instrument to regulate the Voice; and whenever he perceived his Master's Tone alter, and grow harsh with Anger, he struck a soft Note with his Pipe; at the hearing of which, *Caius* immediately bated of the Vehemence of his Passion and Voice, grew Mild; and was easily recalled to Temper. These are the Differences between the two Brothers; but their Valour against their Enemies, their Justice to their Countrymen, their Care and Well-management of the publick Affairs, and lastly, their Continency against Sensuality and Pleasures, were equally remarkable, and alike in Both.

Tiberius

7
occ
by
of
acted
derta
Adm
Inter
had
very
fore
first
Tib
so ce
mitte
with
his n
pear;
for, a
and ex
public
ly to
ness o
when
braced
went
to the
tistia,
answer
means
berius
Some
the Gr
relate
(1) A
xxxviii.
sider tha
ditions o

TIB. GRACCHUS.

83

Tiberius was the Elder by Nine Years, which occasion'd that their publick Actions were divided by the difference of the Times, in which Those of the One, and Those of the Other, were transacted. This was no small hindrance to their Undertakings; for not coming at the same time to the Administration of Affairs, they could not join their Interests together, which between them Both, had they flourish'd at once, must needs have been very great, and almost irresistible. We must therefore give an Account of each of them singly, and first of the Eldest.

Tiberius, though as yet but a young Man, was so celebrated and esteem'd, that he was soon admitted into the College of the *Augurs*, and that with Respect had, more to his early Virtue, than his noble Birth. This *Appius Claudius* made appear; who, though he had been Consul and Censor, and was then the chief of the *Roman Senate*, and excelling in Wisdom most of his Quality, at a publick Feast of the *Augurs*, address'd himself openly to *Tiberius*, and with great Expressions of Kindness offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage; which, when *Tiberius* had with much Satisfaction embraced, and they had settled the Articles, *Appius* went straight home, and calling out his Wife to the Gate, with a loud Voice cry'd out, O Antistia, *I have betrothed our Daughter Claudia*. She answered in a Surprise, *Why so suddenly? What means this haste? Unless you have betrothed her to Tiberius Gracchus*. (1) I am not ignorant that Some apply this Story to *Tiberius*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Scipio Africanus*; but most People relate it as we have done: And *Polybius* writes, that

(1) Among These is *Livy*, lib. xxxviii. 57. But we are to consider that there were several Traditions on that Head, and that the

Testimony of *Polybius* sufficiently confirms That which is followed here by *Plutarch*.

after the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, the nearest Relations of *Cornelia*, preferring *Tiberius* to all other Competitors, gave her to Him in Marriage, which is an Instance that she had not been pre-engaged to any one by her Father.

Now this young *Tiberius* serving in *Africa* under the younger *Scipio*, who had married his Sister, and conversing under the same Tent with his General, soon observed and learned his noble Genius, which excited a great Emulation of his Virtues, and stirred him up to the Imitation of his Actions, so that in a short time he excelled all the young Men of the Army in his regular Behaviour and Courage; and at a Siege of one of the Enemy's Towns was the First that mounted the Enemy's Wall, as *Fannius* says, who writes, that He Himself climb'd up with him, and was his Companion in that Action. His Presence created amongst the Soldiers an extraordinary Affection, and his Departure left a passionate Desire of his Return.

After that Expedition, being chosen *Paymaster of the Army*, it was his Fortune to serve in the War against the *Numantines*, under the Command of *C. Mancinus* the Consul, a Person no ways blamable, but the most unfortunate of all the *Roman* Generals. Notwithstanding, amidst the greatest Misfortunes, and in the most unsuccessful Enterprises, not only the Discretion and Valour of *Tiberius*, but also (which was still more to be admired) the great Respect and Veneration which he had for his General, was most eminently Remarkable; though the General Himself, when reduced to Straits, forgot his own Dignity and Office: For being beaten, he endeavoured to dislodge by Night, and leave his Camp; which the *Numantines* perceiving, they immediately possessed themselves of his Camp, pursuing that part of the Forces which was put to Flight; slew all Those who

were

were in the Rear, hedged the whole Army in on every side, and forced them into such intricate Places, as that there could be no possibility of an Escape. *Mancinus*, despairing to make his way through by Force, sent a Messenger to desire a Truce, and Cessation of Arms; but they refused to conclude a Treaty with any one except *Tiberius*, and required that He should be sent to treat with them. This they earnestly insisted upon, not only in regard to the young Man's Courage, (for he had a great Reputation amongst the Soldiers) but likewise in Remembrance of his Father *Tiberius*, who in his Expedition against the *Spaniards* had utterly destroyed several other Places, but granted a Peace to the *Numantines*, and prevailed upon the *Romans* to keep it punctually and inviolably.

Upon this Consideration, *Tiberius* was dispatched to the Enemy, whom he persuaded to accept of several Conditions, and He Himself complied with others; and by this means it is evident, that he saved twenty thousand of the *Roman* Citizens, besides Slaves, and all Those that followed the Army. However the *Numantines* plundered the Camp, and carried away every thing they found there; amongst other Things were *Tiberius's* Books of Accounts, containing the whole Transactions of his *Quæstorship*, upon which he set an extraordinary Value: And therefore when the Army was all ready upon their March, he returned to *Numantia*, accompanied with only Three or Four of his intimate Friends; and making his Application to the principal Officers of the *Numantines*, he earnestly entreated, that they would return him his Books, lest his Enemies should thereby take an occasion to upbraid him, for not being able to give an Account of the Monies received and disbursed by him, The *Numantines* joyfully embraced this Opportunity of obliging him, and kindly invited him into

the City; as he stood doubting with himself what to do, they approached towards him, took him by the Hand, and earnestly begged, that he would never again look upon them as Enemies, but relying upon their Friendship, be confident for the future of their inviolable Sincerity. *Tiberius* thought it convenient to believe them, because he was desirous to have his Books returned, and was afraid lest he should disoblige them, by shewing any manner of Distrust. As soon as he was entered into the City, they in the first place invited him to a publick Entertainment, and earnestly pressed him to accept of it: Afterwards they returned his Books, and gave him the Liberty to take whatever he saw most acceptable among the Spoils. He on the other hand would accept of nothing but some Frankincense, which he used in his publick Sacrifices; and after he had kindly embraced them, and made his Compliments, departed.

When he returned to *Rome*, he found the Conditions he had agreed to with the Enemy censured and reproached, as a Business that was base and scandalous to the *Romans*; but the Relations and Friends of the Soldiers, who were the greatest part of the Populace, came flocking to *Tiberius*, whom they acknowledged as the Preserver of so many Citizens, and imputed all the Miscarriages that had happened, to the General. They who were dissatisfied with the Proceedings, proposed the Example of their Ancestors to be followed. For heretofore on the like Occasion they sent back stark naked to the *Samnites* those Generals who thought themselves very happy when they escaped out of the Hands of their Enemies, in vertue of an ignominious Composition to which they had too easily submitted. They sent back in that manner, not only the Generals, but all Those who had any Share in the Treaty, and had consented to it, such

as the *Questors* and *Tribunes*, that they might lay at Their Door the Guilt of Perjury, and Breach of Peace. But in this Affair, the Populace shewing an extraordinary Kindness and Affection for *Tiberius*, they indeed voted that the Consul should be stripped and put in Irons, and so delivered to the *Numantines*; but they granted a general Pardon to all the Rest, out of pure Respect to *Tiberius*. It is very probable that *Scipio*, who at that time was a leading Man among the *Romans*, lent him his Assistance; though he was nevertheless censured for not protecting *Mancinus* too; and that he did not ratifie the Articles of Peace concluded with the *Numantines*, of which his Kinsman and Friend *Tiberius* was the Author. But it is evident, that the greatest part of these Differences did arise from the Ambition of some designing Politicians, who had a Kindness for *Tiberius*. However, this Disorder never came to a malignant and incurable Disease; and truly I cannot be persuaded, that *Tiberius* would ever have taken those Courses which he did, if *Scipio Africanus* had had any Hand in the Management of his Affairs: For at the time when he was engaged in the War against *Numantia*, *Tiberius* then ventured to make Proposals of new Laws, for the better Regulation of the Government, upon the following occasion.

It had been a Custom among the *Romans*, whenever they made any Conquests upon the Territories of their Neighbours, to sell part thereof by Auction, and turn the remainder into *Common*. This Common they assigned to such of the Citizens as were poor and indigent, for which they were to pay only a small Acknowledgment into the publick Treasury: But when the wealthy Men began to raise the Rents, and turn the poor People out of their Possessions, it was enacted by Law, that no Person whatever should enjoy more than five hundred

Acres of Ground. This Act did for some time restrain the Avarice of the richer, and was no small Supply to the poorer People, who possessed their respective Proportions of Ground, as they had been formerly rented by them: Afterwards the rich Men of the Neighbourhood contrived to get these Lands again into their Possessions, under other Peoples Names, and at last would not stick to claim most of 'em publickly in their Own. The Poor, who were thus deprived of their Farms, would neither list themselves in the *Militia*, nor take any care of the Education of their Children: insomuch that in a short time there were few Freemen remaining in all *Italy*, which swarmed with a numerous Company of barbarous Slaves: These the rich Men employed about the cultivating their Ground, dispossessing the Citizens. *C. Lælius*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Scipio's*, undertook to rectifie this Abuse; but meeting with Opposition from Men of Authority, and fearing lest a Riot should thereupon be committed, he soon desisted; upon which account he was called (1) *Lælius the Wise*.

Tiberius being elected *Tribune* of the People, prosecuted that Design with all Diligence, at the Instigation (as 'tis commonly reported) of *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Blossius* the Philosopher. *Diophanes* was One who had been banished from *Mytilene*, the Other was an *Italian*, of the City of *Cuma*, educated there by *Antipater* of *Tarsus*, who afterwards did him the Honour to dedicate his Philoso-

(1) I am of Opinion *Plutarch* followed unwarranted Authorities in this Place, or did not truly understand the Authors he consulted; for *Lælius* was not called the *Wise* for the Reasons given here, but from his Contempt of Pleasure and Wantonness, of which we have an undeniable Testimony.

Cicero in his 2d Book *de finibus* saith: *Nec ille, qui Diogenem Stoicum Adolefcens, post autem Panætium, audierat, Lælius, eo dictus est Sapiens, quod non intelligeret quid suavisimum esset, nec enim sequitur, ut cui cor sapias ei non sapias Palatum, sed quia parvi id duceret.*

TIB. GRACCHUS.

89

phical Lectures to him. Some are apt to think *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Tiberius*, contributed towards it, because she frequently upbraided her Sons, upon this Account, that the *Romans* as yet rather called her the Daughter of *Scipio*, than the Mother of the *Gracchi*; but it was thought *Sp. Postumius* was the chief Occasion of it. He was Contemporary with *Tiberius*, and very ambitious to gain the Reputation of being the better Orator; whom, when *Tiberius* at his return from the Campaign, found to be in a very great Esteem and Authority, he was desirous to out-do him, by attempting a popular Enterprize of this Difficulty, and of such great Consequence. But his Brother *Caius* has left it in Writing, that when *Tiberius* went through *Tuscany* into *Numantia*, and found the Countries almost depopulated, there being hardly any Husbandmen or Shepherds, and for the most part only barbarous foreign Slaves; he from that time took into his serious Consideration the Management of this Affair, which in the sequel proved so fatal to his Family; though it is most certain that the People Themselves chiefly excited him to be Active and Vigorous in the Prosecution of it, by their fixing publick Libels upon the Porches, Walls and Monuments, humbly beseeching him, that he would re-establish them in their former Possessions.

However he did not make this Law without the Advice and Assistance of those Citizens, who were then most eminent for their Virtue and Authority; amongst whom was *Crassus* the High-Priest, *Mutius Scaevola* the Lawyer (who at that time was Consul) and *Claudius Appius* his Father-in-law. Never did any Law appear more moderate and gentle, especially being enacted against so great an Oppression and Avarice: For They who ought to have been severely punished for transgressing the former Laws, and should at least have lost all their

Titles

Titles to such Lands, which they had unjustly usurped; yet they were ordered notwithstanding to receive a Gratuity for quitting their unlawful Claims, and restoring the Lands to their right Owners, who stood most in need thereof. But tho' this Reformation was managed with so much Tenderness, insomuch that all former Transactions were smothered, and the People were only careful to prevent Abuses of the like nature for the future; yet on the other hand, the Monied Men, and Those of great Estates, were exasperated against the Law it self, through Covetousness, and against the Law-giver, through Anger and Obstinacy; they therefore endeavoured to seduce the People, insinuating to them, that *Tiberius* had introduced such a Division of the Lands, with a Design only to disturb the Government, and put all things into a Confusion.

But they succeeded not in this Project; for *Tiberius* being a Person always resolute in the maintaining of an honourable and just Cause, and one whose Eloquence was sufficient to have made a less creditable Action appear plausible, was earnest; and not easily to be controlled. Upon this Account, being placed in the *Rostrum*, he made a Speech on the behalf of the poor People, to this effect. *The savage Beasts*, says he, *in Italy have their particular Dens, they have their Places of Repose and Refuge; but the Men who have born Arms, and exposed their Lives for the Safety of their Country, enjoy in the mean time nothing more in it but the fresh Air and Sunshine; and having no Houses or Settlements of their Own, are constrained to wander from place to place with their Wives and Children.* He told 'em, that the Commanders imposed upon and deceived them, when at the Head of their Armies, they exhorted the common Soldiers to fight for their Sepulchers and Altars; whereas not one Roman
amongst

amongst so Many is possessed of either Altar or Monument, neither have they any Houses of their own, or Seats of their Ancestors to defend: They fought indeed, and were slain, but it was to maintain the Luxury and Wealth of other Men: They likewise were styled the Lords of the Universe, but in the mean time had not one Foot of Ground which they could call their own. To an Harangue of this Nature, spoken to an Enthusiastical and Tumultuous Rabble, by a Person of extraordinary Prudence and great Zeal, none of his Adversaries at that time presumed to make the least Opposition. Forbearing therefore all manner of Disputes, they turned themselves towards Marcus Octavius, his Fellow-Tribune, who being a young Man of a sober Conversation, modest in his Behaviour, and an intimate Friend of Tiberius's, did upon that account decline at first the opposing of him; but at length over-persuaded with the repeated Importunities of some considerable Persons, he was prevailed upon to withstand Tiberius, and hinder the passing of the Law. Now it is a Custom among the Tribunes to have no Point carried where there is any Opposition. If All but One of them should join in an Edict, it is all to no purpose whilst He continues to dissent and oppose it. Tiberius being enraged at these Proceedings, presently laid aside this mild Bill; but at the same time preferred Another; which as it was more grateful to the common People, so it was much more severe against Extortioners; commanding them, *To make an immediate Surrender of all such Lands, which they, contrary to former Laws, had got into their Possessions.* From hence it was, that there arose daily Contentions between Him and Octavius in their Orations; however, though they expressed themselves with much heat and earnestness, they yet were never known to use any scurrilous Language, or in their Passion to let slip any indecent Expressions,

sions, so as to derogate from one another. From whence it is observable, how much a good Temper and an ingenuous Education influence and compose Mens Minds; not only in their Meetings for Pleasure and Diversion, but likewise in their Contentions, and in their very Emulation for Preferments.

When *Tiberius* considered, that *Octavius* Himself had offended against this Law, and detained a great Quantity of Ground from the Commonalty, he desired him to forbear opposing him any farther; and generously proffered for the publick Good, tho' He Himself had but an indifferent Estate, to purchase *Octavius's* Share, at his proper Cost and Charges: But upon the Refusal of this Proffer by *Octavius*, he then published an Edict, prohibiting all Magistrates to exercise their respective Functions, 'till such time as the Law was either ratified or rejected by publick Votes. He farther sealed up the Gates of *Saturn's* Temple, in which the publick Treasury was kept, so that the Treasurers could neither take any thing out from thence, or put any thing in. He threatned to impose a severe Fine upon Such as should presume to disobey his Commands, insomuch that all the Officers for fear of this Penalty omitted the Exercise of their several Jurisdictions. Upon This, the Gentlemen of Estates put themselves into Mourning, went up and down Melancholy and Dejected; they enter'd into a Conspiracy against *Tiberius*, and procured Ruffians to murder him; insomuch that he never went abroad without a *Tuck* or *Rapier*, such as Robbers use, (1) which the *Latines* call *Dolon*.

(1) This word is used by *Virgil*, *Æn. vii. ver. 664.*

Pila manu, sevosque gerunt in bella Dolones.

The *Dolon* was a Staff, having a Blade or Peignard concealed in

it, and is so called from *dolus*, *Deceit*, because it was a deceitful Implement, appearing to the Eye to be no more than a piece of Wood, though at the same time it was a very dangerous Weapon.

When

When the Day appointed was come, and the People summoned to give their Votes, the rich Men seized upon the (1) *Ballotting-Boxes*, and carried them away by Force; thus all things were in Confusion. But when *Tiberius's* Party appeared strong enough to oppose the contrary Faction, and were drawn together in a Body, with Resolutions to do so; *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, two Persons of Consular Quality, threw themselves at *Tiberius's* Feet, took him by the Hand, and with Tears in their Eyes, humbly begged of him to desist. *Tiberius* considering the Inconveniences that were likely to arise, and having a great respect for two such eminent Persons, demanded of them what they would advise him to do. They acknowledged themselves altogether unfit to advise in a Matter of so great Importance, but earnestly entreated him to leave it to the determination of the Senate. When the Senate was assembled, and yet could not bring the Business to a Period, by reason of the Prevalency of the rich Faction, he then betook himself to illegal and unjust Methods, endeavouring to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribuneship; it being impossible for him, without That, to get the Law ratified and confirmed: At first he caressed him with most obliging Language, and taking him by his Hands, beseeched him, that now in the presence of all the People, he would take this Opportunity to oblige them, in granting only that Request which was in it self so just and reasonable, being but a small Recompence in regard of those

(1) The Word in the Original is *Urea*, signifying an *Urn*, into which the Romans cast their Suffrages when they voted by Ballot. Of These they had two Sorts. The first were called *Cista*, or *Cistella*, having a large Mouth, into which they put their Balls or Bal-

lots in order to distribute them to the People before they proceeded to give their Votes. The Others were called *Sitella*, having narrow Necks, where the People cast their Votes or Balls. These are the Urns or Ballotting-Boxes meant in this Place.

many Dangers and Hardships which they had undergone for the publick Safety. *Octavius* would by no means be persuaded to a Compliance; whereupon *Tiberius* declared openly, that seeing They Two were jointly concerned in the same Office, and of equal Authority, it would be a difficult Matter to compose this Difference without a Civil War, and that the only Remedy which he knew must of Necessity be the deposing One of them from their Office. He desired therefore that *Octavius* would summon the People to pass their Verdict upon Him first, averring that he would willingly relinquish his Authority if the honest Citizens would consent to it. But *Octavius* still continued refractory; wherefore *Tiberius* told him plainly, That the People should have liberty to vote against him, if upon mature Deliberation he did not suddenly alter his Mind; and after this Declaration adjourned the Assembly 'till the next day. When the People were met together again, *Tiberius* placed himself in the *Rostrum*, and endeavoured a second time to persuade *Octavius*: But All being to no purpose, he referred the whole Matter to the People, ordering them to vote whether *Octavius* should be deposed or not; and when seventeen of the thirty five Tribes had already voted against him, and there wanted only the Votes of one Tribe more for his final Deprivation, *Tiberius* put a short stop to the Proceedings, and vouchsafed to renew his Importunities, he embraced and kissed him before all the Assembly, begging with all the earnestness imaginable, that he would neither suffer himself to be exposed to such Infamy, nor Him to be reputed the Author and Promoter of such violent Measures. *Octavius* (they say) seemed a little softened and moved with these Importunities, and with his Eyes full of Tears continued silent for a considerable Time: But afterwards

TIB. GRACCHUS.

95

terwards looking towards the Men of Estates who were gathered together in a Body, partly for Shame, and partly for fear of incurring their Displeasure, he generously bid *Tiberius* do what he pleased. The Law for his Deprivation being thus voted, *Tiberius* ordered one of his Servants, whom he had made a Freeman, to pull *Octavius* out of the *Rostrum*; for he employed his own Domestick Servants instead of Serjeants.

And This was a further addition to the Punishment, that *Octavius* was dragged out in such an ignominious Manner. The People immediately assaulted him with great Violence, whilst the rich Men ran in to his Assistance. *Octavius* presently fled, and without any Attendant escaped the Fury of the Rabble, tho' it happen'd that a trusty Servant of His, who had placed himself by his Master, that he might assist him towards his Escape, in keeping off the Multitude, had both his Eyes struck out, contrary to the Intention of *Tiberius*, who ran with all haste (when he perceived the Disturbance) to appease the Rioters.

This being done, the Law concerning the Lands was ratified and confirmed, and three Commissioners were appointed to make a Survey of the Grounds, and see the same equally divided: The Commissioners were *Tiberius* himself, *Claudius Ap-
pius* his Father-in-law, and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, who at this time was not at *Rome*, but in the Army under the Command of *Scipio Africanus* before *Numantia*. These things were transacted by *Tiberius* without any Disturbance, None daring to stand in Opposition to him; and besides all This, he chose by his own Interest and Authority another Tribune, not as formerly out of the Eminent Nobility, but *Mutius*, one of his own Domestick Servants. Upon the account of these Proceedings the Rich were extreamly offended, and still dread-

ed, lest he should grow more popular; they therefore took all Opportunities of affronting him publicly in the Senate-House; for when he desired, as was usual, to have a Tent provided at the public Charge for his Use, when he should begin his Expedition to divide the Lands, though it was a Favour commonly granted to Persons employed in Business of much less Importance, yet it was peremptorily refus'd to Him; and they would allow him only nine *Oboli* to defray each Day's Expences.

P. Nasica was the chief Promoter of these Affronts, and was not afraid to own how much he hated him, upon the account of his having formerly a very great Estate in those publick Lands, and did not a little resent it, to be turned out now by Force. The People on the other hand were still more and more enraged, insomuch that a little after This, it happening that one of *Tiberius's* Friends died suddenly, and his Body being full of malignant Spots, the People ran in a tumultuous manner to his Funeral, (1) crying aloud that the Man was poisoned: They took the Bier upon their Shoulders, and carried the Corps to the Funeral Pile, really believing that the plain Symptoms of Poison were easily discernable, for the Body swelled to a great bigness, and such a quantity of corrupt Humours issued out, that the Funeral-fire was extinguished thereby; and when it was again kindled, the Wood still would not burn, insomuch that

(1) There were two Circumstances, which confirmed the People in that Suspicion. The First, the Spots which appeared upon the Corps. But That happens often where no Poison has been used. The Second was the Quantity of corrupt Humours, which put out the Fire, insomuch that

it was not without some Difficulty rekindled; as it was the Property of Poison to have that Effect, and that an envenomed Corps would not take Fire so easily as Another. But when once the People are possessed with a Notion, though never so absurd, every thing serves to confirm them in it.

they

they were constrained to carry the Corps to another place, where with much difficulty it was consumed. Besides This, *Tiberius*, that he might incense the People yet more, put himself into Mourning, brought his Children amongst the Crowd, intreated the People to provide for Them and their Mother, as if He Himself did now despair of his own Security. About this time King (1) *Attalus*, surnamed *Philopater*, died, and *Eudemus*, a *Pergamenian*, brought his *Last Will* to *Rome*, whereby he had made the *Roman* People his Heirs.

Tiberius, to ingratiate himself still more with the Commonalty, immediately proposed a Law, that all the ready Money which *Attalus* left should be distributed amongst such poor Citizens as were to be Sharers of the publick Lands, for the better enabling of them to proceed in the Management and Cultivating of their Ground; and as for the Cities that were in the Territories of *Attalus*, he declared that the disposal of them did not at all belong to the Senate, but the People, and that He Himself would ask their Pleasure herein; by This he exasperated the Senate more than ever he had done before, and therefore *Pompeius* stood up instantly, and acquainted the Senate that he was the next Neighbour to *Tiberius*, and so had the opportunity of knowing, that *Eudemus* the *Pergamenian* had presented *Tiberius* with a *Royal Crown* and a *Purple Robe*, thereby intimating that *Tiberius* should ere-long be King of *Rome*.

Quintus Metellus also upbraided *Tiberius*, that when his Father was *Censor*, the *Romans* never returned home from their Country-Houses after Sup-

(1) This was *Attalus* the Third, the Son of *Eumenes* the Second, and *Stratonice*, the last King of *Pergamus*. But he was not named

Philopater, his Surname was *Philometor*, and so we find it in the *St. Germain's MS.*

per, but they put out their Torches, lest they should be seen to have indulged themselves in Banquetting at unseasonable Hours. But instead of this decent Custom, His common Practice was, to walk the Streets at Midnight, whilst mean and insolent Fellows flock'd to him, and made up his Retinue.

Titus Annius, a Man of no great Repute either for his Honesty or Learning, but a cunning Sophister in proposing cramp Questions, and returning Answers, offered to prove by undeniable Arguments, that *Tiberius* had done unworthily in deposing a Roman Magistrate, whom the Laws ever esteemed sacred and inviolable. The People immediately grew tumultuous, and *Tiberius* summoning a General Assembly, commanded *Annius* to appear and maintain That which he had asserted: But *Annius* being neither a good Logician, nor pretending much to Oratory, rather betook himself to his old way of asking some cunning sort of Questions, and desired that he might propose One or Two to *Tiberius*, before he entered upon the chief Argument. This Liberty being granted, and Silence proclaimed, *Annius* proposed this Question: *If You, says he, had a design to vilifie and defame Me, and I should apply my self to any Other Magistrate for Redress, and He should come readily to my Assistance, would you for that reason fall into an extravagant Passion, and put him out of Commission? Tiberius*, they say, being much surprized at the Question, was wholly silent, though at other times his Assurance as well as his Eloquence was always remarkable; yet now upon this account he thought it convenient to dismiss the Assembly.

Afterwards beginning to understand that his Behaviour towards *Octavius* had disgusted the Populace as well as the Nobility (because the Dignity of the Tribunes seemed to be violated, which had always

continued

continued 'till that Day very sacred and honourable) he made a Speech to the People in Justification of himself, out of which it may not be improper to collect some Particulars, that we may thereby discern what Impression such Eloquence was able to make upon an Auditory. *A Tribune*, says he, *of the People is Sacred indeed, and ought to be inviolable, because in a manner consecrated to be the Guardian and Protector of them; but if he degenerates so far as to oppress the People, to retrench their Privileges, and take away all their Liberty of Voting; he then deprives himself of that honourable Station by the neglect of his Duty, for the sake of which the Honour was bestowed upon him; otherwise a Tribune might not think himself obnoxious, though he should demolish the Capitol, or burn the Naval Magazines.*

Certainly when He that is only guilty of such Extravagancies as These, can't be looked upon as a good Tribune; much less can He be so, who dares presume to diminish the Privileges of the People, because he ceases from that time to be the Peoples Tribune. Is it not very unreasonable, that a Tribune should have Power to imprison a Consul, if the People must have no Authority to degrade him when he uses that Honour which he received from them, to their Detriment? For the Tribunes, as well as the Consuls, are elected to that Dignity by the Peoples Votes. But the Kingly Government, which comprehends all sorts of Authority in itself alone, is confirmed with the greatest and most religious Solemnity imaginable, as being a Government which does most resemble That of Heaven. But the Citizens; notwithstanding This, deposed Tarquin, because of his Tyrannical Oppressions; and for the Injustice of one single Man, the ancient Government under Which Rome was built, was abolish'd for ever. What is there in all Rome so sacred and venerable as the Vestal Virgins, to whose Care alone the preservation of the eternal Fire is committed? yet if any One

The LIFE of

of them proves so unguarded as to depart from her Chastity, she is buried alive; for when they presume to commit any Offence against their Gods, they instantly lose that Veneration, which they claimed as Attendants in their Service; so likewise a Tribune should no longer be respected by the People as a sacred Person, when he offends against that Authority from whence he derived his Own.

We always esteem that Person legally chosen Tribune, who is elected only by the majority of Votes; and is not therefore the same Person much more lawfully degraded, when by a general Consent of them All, they agree to depose him. Nothing is so inviolable as Offerings consecrated to the Gods, and yet the People were never prohibited to make use of them, but suffered to remove and carry them where-ever they pleased. They likewise whenever it has been thought convenient, have transferred the Tribuneship, as a sacred Present, from one Person to Another; and as a certain Proof that this Office is neither inviolable or unchangeable, we know that many times They, who have been promoted to it have voluntarily surrendered, and desired to be discharged.

Those were the principal Heads of Tiberius's Apology; but his Friends apprehending the Dangers which seemed to threaten him, and those Conspiracies that were secretly contrived against him, were of Opinion, that the safest way would be for him to petition, that he might be continued Tribune for the Year ensuing. Which when he had obtained, he again endeavoured to oblige the People with other Laws, making the Years of serving in the War fewer than formerly, in granting the liberty of Appeals from the Magistrates to the People, and making the Bench of Judges, which 'till then consisted of Senators only, to be composed of an equal Number of Knights and Senators, endeavouring as much as in him lay to lessen

sen the Power of the Senate; which proceeded rather from Passion and Prejudice, than from any rational regard to Equity and the publick Good. When it came to be debated, whether these Laws should be ratified, he was soon sensible, that his Adversaries had the most Votes, (the People as yet being not got together in a full Body) and in such Cases, it was his Custom to raise some Disputes with his Fellow-Officers, out of design only to gain longer time; but failing in that Project also, he at length adjourned the Assembly 'till the Day following.

In the mean time he put on a Mourning Habit, and went into the *Forum*, where he made his Addresses to the People in an humble Posture with Tears in his Eyes; and told them, *He had just reason to suspect, that his Adversaries would attempt in the Night-time to break open his House, and murder him.* This work'd so strongly with the Multitude, that Several of them erected Tents round about his House, and kept Guard all Night for the Security of his Person. The next Morning as soon as it was light (1) the Person who had the Charge of the Chickens, which the *Romans* observe in one sort of their Divination, brought them forth, and toss'd their Food before them. Of all These One only offered to quit his Coop, which was not 'till he had been much provoked to it by the Feeder. When he was out he would not feed, but fluttering with his left Wing, and stretching out his Leg, ran back into the Coop. This put *Tiberius* in mind of another ill Omen, which had formerly happened to him; he had a very costly Head-piece, which

(1) The *Romans* kept a certain Number of Chickens in Coops, to make use of them in their Divination. They threw Grain before them, and whilst they were feeding they watch'd if any thing dropt from their Bill, which made a Noise, or rebounded in Falling. This was call'd *Tripudium Solistimum*. Vid. Cic. Lib. 11. de Divinatione, Sect. 24.

he made use of when he engaged in any Battel, and into this piece of Armour two Serpents crawl'd, laid Eggs, and brought forth young ones; the remembrance of which made *Tiberius* more concerned at This, than otherwise he would have been. However he went towards the *Capitol*, as soon as ever he understood that the People were assembled there; but before he got out of the House he stumbled upon the Threshold with such Violence, that he broke the Nail of his great Toe, insomuch that Blood gushed out of his Shoe. He was not gone very far, before he saw two Ravens fighting on the top of a House, which stood on his left hand as he passed along; and though he was surrounded with an infinite number of People, a Stone happened to fall just at his Foot, beaten down (as it is probable) by the Ravens: Which Accident put a stop to Those who were the boldest Men about him. But *Blossius* of *Cuma*, who happened to be then present, told him, *That it would be a shameful thing for Tiberius, who was the Son of Gracchus, the Grandson of Scipio Africanus, and the Protector of the Roman People, to refuse (for fear of a silly Bird) to promote the Interest of his Countrymen, who apply'd to him; and that his Adversaries would represent This as the effect of a mean Spirit, and of a tyrannical Temper, which took a Pride in the frequent importunate Petitions of the People.* At the same time several Messengers came also from *Tiberius's* Friends, to desire his Presence at the *Capitol*, and to acquaint him that all things went there according to Expectation. Indeed *Tiberius's* first Entrance there was very pompous, and he was honourably received; for as soon as ever he appeared, his Friends welcomed him with loud Acclamations into the *Capitol*: And when he had taken his Place, they repeated their Expressions of Joy, and took care that no Person whatever should come

con
ti
Ve
De
wh
wa
V
fusi
Pla
fro
hea
to l
a D
him
mal
wit
info
not
rel,
amo
assai
Nun
acco
this
imm
the
Cro
to c
ther
and
mig
hear
Hea
he a

(1)
fugisse
salutis

come near to him, but his intimate Friends. *Mutius* then began to put the Business again to the Vote; but nothing was performed with the usual Decency and Order, by reason of the Disturbance which the Rabble made, by their pressing forwards to get into the Capitol.

Whilst these things were carried on in this Confusion, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Senator, standing in a Place higher than ordinary, but at such a Distance from *Tiberius*, that when he could not make him hear, by reason of the tumultuous Noise, signified to him by certain motions of his Hand, that he had a Desire to impart something of Consequence to him in private; *Tiberius* ordered the Multitude to make way for him, by which means (though not without some Difficulty) *Flavius* got to him, and informed him, that the Senators, seeing they could not prevail upon the Consul to espouse their Quarrel, had at length come to this final Determination amongst themselves, that They Themselves would assassinate him; and to that purpose had a great Number of their Friends and Servants prepared to accomplish it. *Tiberius* no sooner communicated this Confederacy to Those about him, but they immediately tuck'd up their long Gowns, broke the Halberts the Serjeants used to keep the Crowd off, into Pieces, with which they resolved to oppose all Those who should come to assault them. They who stood at a Distance wondered, and demanded what the Occasion of that Disorder might be; *Tiberius* knowing that they could not hear him at that Distance, lifted his Hand to his Head, thereby intimating the great Danger which he apprehended himself to be in: (1) His Adversaries

G 4

ries

(1) *Inde cum in Capitolium pro-* | *hortaretur, praeuit speciem regnum*
fugisset, plebemque ad defensionem | *sibi & diadema poscentis. Flor.*
salutis suae, manu caput tangens. | *lib. iii. c. 14. Here is a most ma-*
licious

ries taking notice of that Action, ran presently to the Senate-House, and declared, that *Tiberius* desired the People to bestow a Crown upon him, that he might be King of *Rome*. This being very surprising, *Nasica* presently required the Consul to punish this Tyrant, and defend the Government, as by Law establish'd. The Consul mildly reply'd, *That he would not be guilty of an unjust Action; and as he would not suffer any Freeman to be put to Death, before Sentence had lawfully passed upon him, so neither would he protect Tiberius, if by his Insinuation the People should act any thing contrary to Law.* But *Nasica* rising from his Seat in a great Passion, *Since the Consul, says he, regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every one who will defend the Dignity and Authority of their Laws, follow Me.* He then casting the Skirt of his Gown over his Shoulder, hastened to the Capitol: They who bore him Company, wrapped their Gowns also about their Arms, and forced their way after him: In Consideration of their Dignity and Power in the City, Few or None were so hardy as to obstruct their Passage, but were rather so careful in avoiding 'em, that they tumbled over one another in haste. Some had furnished themselves with Clubs; Others got up the feet of Stools and Chairs, which were broken by the hasty flight of the common People. Thus armed they made towards *Tiberius*, knocking down all Those whom they happened to meet with; so that the People were soon dispersed, and Many slain, as they endeavoured to make their Escape.

licious Interpretation put upon a very innocent Gesture. But it was the easier credited, because *Pompeius* the Senator had before caused it to be spread abroad, that *Eudemus* of *Pergamus* had presented *Tiberius* with a Diadem, and a Robe bordered with Purple. This was sufficient to justify the Sense put upon that Gesture.

Tiberius seeing these things, thought it his best way to save himself by flight : As he was running, he chanced to be stopped by one who caught him hold by the Gown ; but he presently getting clear of That, fled in his under-Garments only. In this hasty Flight it happened, that falling over Those who had been knocked down before, as he was endeavouring to recover himself, one *Publius Satureius*, a Tribune, was observed to give him the first fatal stroke, by hitting him upon the Head with the Foot of a Stool : The next Man who struck him, was *Lucius Rufus*, who afterwards boasted of it, as an honourable Exploit. In this Tumult there were above three hundred Men slain, with Clubs and Staves only, there being no *War-like Instruments* made use of. This was the first Insurrection amongst the *Romans*, that ended with the effusion of Blood, since the Abrogation of Kingly Government ; for all former Seditions, which were neither small, nor about trivial Matters, were always amicably composed, the two Parties constantly submitting to one another, either the Senate for fear of the Commons, or the Commons out of respect to the Senate. And it is probable indeed that *Tiberius* himself might then have been easily brought to Submission, if he had not been proceeded against in such a rigorous manner ; for he had not at that time above three thousand Men of his Party : But it is evident, that this Conspiracy was fomented against him, more out of an Aversion and Malice which the rich Men had to his Person, than for the Reasons which they commonly pretended against him : In testimony whereof, we may alledge the Cruelty and unnatural Insults used to his dead Body ; for they would not suffer his own Brother, tho' he earnestly begged the Favour, to bury his Corps in the Night, but threw it together with other Carcasses into the River. Neither did
their

their Cruelty stop here ; for they banished some of his Friends without legal Process, and slew as Many of the rest as they could lay their Hands on ; amongst Whom *Diophanes* the Orator was slain : They murdered one *Caius Billius*, by shutting him up close in a large Tun with Vipers and Serpents : (1) *Blossius* of *Cuma* was indeed carried before the Consuls, where he was examined touching what had happened, and freely confessed, That he had never failed to execute whatever *Tiberius* commanded him : *What*, replied *Nasica*, then if *Tiberius* had commanded thee to have burnt the Capitol, thou wouldst have done it ? His first Answer was, That *Tiberius* was incapable of commanding any such thing : But being pressed with the same Question by several Others, he declared, That if *Tiberius* had commanded it, he would not have thought it an inglorious Action to have done it ; for he never commanded any thing but what he thought for the Advantage of the People. Notwithstanding all This *Blossius* was pardoned, and soon afterwards withdrew to (2) *Aristonicus* in *Asia*, whose Fortune being then

re-

(1) *Laelius* in the Treatise written by *Cicero* under that Name gives a different Account of this Matter. There he saith, That this *Blossius*, after the Murder of *Tiberius*, came to wait on him whilst he was in close Conference with the Consuls *Popilius Lænas*, and *P. Rupilius*, upon the present Posture of Affairs, and earnestly pressed him for a Pardon, alledging in his Justification that he had such a Veneration for *Tiberius* that he thought himself obliged to do every thing he would have him. By this Rule, said he, if he had commanded thee to set Fire to the Capitol thou wouldst have done it ? O. Sir. replied *Blossius*, That he would

never have commanded, but if he had I should have obeyed him. You hear, said *Laelius*, the Impudence of this Man, and he has verified his Words by his Actions, or rather his Actions have exceeded them ; for he has not only seconded the Temerity of *Tiberius Gracchus*, and been an Accomplice with him in his mad Undertakings, but has instigated him, and instilled them into him. In this Passage *Laelius* does not appear to be under a judicial Examination, as he doth in *Plutarch*.

(2) *Aristonicus* was a Bastard Brother of *Attalus*, and being highly provoked at him for bequeathing his Kingdom to the

Romans,

reduced to a desperate Condition, he killed Himself. However the Senate, to mollifie the People after these Transactions, did not oppose the Division of the publick Lands, but permitted them to chuse another Commissioner for that Business in the room of *Tiberius*: So they elected *Publius Crassus*, who was allied to *Tiberius*, because his Daughter *Licina* was married to his Brother *Caius*. *Cornelius Nepos* indeed says, that she was not the Daughter of *Crassus*, but of that *Brutus* who triumphed for his Conquests in *Portugal*: But most Historians are of the same Opinion with Us. Afterwards the People were much concerned for the Loss of *Tiberius*; and it was apparent, that they wanted nothing but a convenient Opportunity to be revenged, and even threatned *Nasica* with an Impeachment. The Senate fearing lest some Mischief should befall *Nasica*, sent him Ambassador into *Asia*, though there was no occasion for his going thither. The Common People did not conceal their Indignation even in the open Streets, but railed at him, whenever they met him abroad, calling him a Murderer and a Tyrant, One who had polluted even the Temple it self with the Blood of a Tribune. Upon this Consideration *Nasica* left *Italy*, although he was obliged, being the Chief-Priest, to officiate in all principal Sacrifices: Thus wandring full of Discontent and Affliction from one Place to another, he died in a short time after not far from *Pergamus*. It is no wonder that the People had such an aversion to *Nasica*, when even *Scipio Africanus*, who, though deservedly be-

Romans, he attempted to get the Possession of it by force of Arms, and seized several of the Towns belonging to it. The Romans sent against him <i>P. Licinius Crassus</i> the Consul, the second Year after	the Death of <i>Tiberius</i>. <i>Crassus</i> was overthrown, and taken by <i>Aristonicus</i>. The Year following <i>Perpenna</i> was General, who defeated <i>Aristonicus</i>, and took him Prisoner.
---	--

loved

loved by the *Romans*, was in danger of losing the good Opinion which the People had of him, only for repeating, when the News of *Tiberius's* Death was first brought to *Numantia*, this Verse out of *Homer* :

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

So may He perish, who such Crimes commits.

And afterwards being asked by *Caius* and *Fulvius*, in a great Assembly, what he thought of the Death of *Tiberius*, he returned such an Answer as made it evident that he did in no wise approve of *Tiberius's* Proceedings. The People were so much offended hereat, that from that time forward they always interrupted him in the middle of his Orations, which they had never presumed to do before : and He on the other hand was so incensed at it, that he reflected very smartly upon the People. But of these Particulars I have given a full Account in the Life of *Scipio*.



THE



THE
L I F E
O F
CAIUS GRACCHUS.

C*AIUS Gracchus* at first, either for fear of his Brother's Enemies, or designing to render them more odious to the People, absented himself from their publick Assemblies, and quietly retired to his own Houle, as if he was a Person, to whom such private Circumstances were not only very agreeable at present, but that he was content to pass the Remainder of his Life, without affecting any publick Action; which made Some imagine, that he abhorred and detested the Transactions of *Tiberius*: However he was now but very young, being not so old as his Brother by nine Years, who was scarce thirty when he was slain.

It was not long before he plainly discovered his Temper, having a natural Antipathy to a lazy Retirement and Effeminacy; nor in the least inclined to any sort of Luxury, or Covetousness. He
wholly

wholly addicted himself to the study of Eloquence, as Wings whereby he might easily aspire to publick Business and Government; and it was very apparent, that he did not intend to pass his Days in obscurity. When *Bettius*, a Friend of His, was impeached of high Misdemeanors, and He undertook to defend his Cause, the People were in an Ecstasy, and transported with Joy, to find him at the Bar, and Master of such Eloquence, that the other Orators seemed to talk like Children in comparison to Him. This created new Jealousies and Fears amongst Those in Authority, and their great Design was, how to hinder *Caius* from being made Tribune.

But it happened soon after, that he was elected Quæstor, (1) and obliged to attend *Orestes* the Consul into *Sardinia*. This, as it pleased his Enemies, so it was not ungrateful to Him; for being naturally a stout Man, he was as well trained in the Art of War, as in That of Pleading. And besides, as yet he very much dreaded meddling with State-Affairs, and appearing publickly in the *Rostrum*, which (because of the Importunity of Friends) he could no otherwise avoid, than by taking this Voyage, he therefore readily embraced the Opportunity of absenting himself. Notwithstanding which, Many are of Opinion, that he was always desirous of the People's Favour, and more Ambitious than ever *Tiberius* had been, of popular Applause; but it is certain that it was rather Necessity than Choice that brought him into the Administration. Even *Cicero* Himself relates This of him, that whilst he was shunning all publick Employments, and was resolved to lead a private Life, his Brother appear-

(1) *L. Aurelius Orestes* was Consul with *Æmilius Lepidus* the Year of Rome 627. 127 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and

six Years after the Death of *Tiberius*. So that *Caius* went Quæstor into *Sardinia*, when he was 27 Years old.

ed to him in a Dream, and calling him by his Name, said; *To what purpose, Caius, are all these Delays? There is no possibility of avoiding that Fate, which is destined for us Two, Both to Live and Die alike, in Vindication of the People's Right.*

Caius was no sooner arrived in *Sardinia*, but he gave exemplary Proofs of his Valour; for he not only excelled all the young Men of his Age, in his early Actions against his Enemies; in doing Justice to his Inferiors, and in shewing all Obedience and Respect to his superior Officer; but likewise in Discretion, Frugality and Industry, he surpassed even Those who were much elder than Himself.

There happened this Year to be a sharp and sickly Winter in *Sardinia*, insomuch that the General was forced to lay an Imposition upon several Towns, to supply the Soldiers with necessary Cloaths: The Cities sent an Express to *Rome* with a Petition, to be excused from that Burthen; the Senate found their Request reasonable, and ordered the General to find some other way of new Cloathing the Army. While he was long contriving what Course to take in this Affair, the Soldiers were reduced to great Extremities; but *Caius* went from one City to Another, (1) and by laying before them the Reasonableness of that Demand, he so far prevailed with them, that of their own accord they cloathed the *Roman* Army. (2) These

(1) Here is a surprizing Instance of the Power of Eloquence. Several Cities refuse to pay a Tax laid upon them by the Consul; they are exempted by the Senate, and yet the persuasive Eloquence of one Man brings them to do That of their own Accord, which they had refused to Authority and of which they had been discharged.

(2) Nothing can be a stronger Proof of the Jealousy and Suspicion of the Senate than the two Instances mentioned here by *Plutarch*. One is the Manner in which they received the News of the great Service performed by *Caius* to the Publick; and the Other their Return to *Micipsa* for his Liberality on that urgent Occasion.

Transactions being carried to *Rome*, and seeming to be the sure Forerunners of popular Ambition, raised new Jealousies amongst the Senators: And besides This, there came Ambassadors out of *Africa* from King *Micipsa*, to acquaint the Senate, that their Master, out of Respect to *Caius Gracchus*, had sent a considerable quantity of Corn to the General in *Sardinia*; at which the Senators were so much offended, that they turned the Ambassadors out of the Senate-house, and made an Order, (1) that the common Soldiers should be relieved, by sending Others in their room; but that *Orestes* should continue upon the Place, not doubting but *Caius* would likewise think himself obliged to remain there with him, in Consideration of his Office. But He soon finding how Things were carried, fell into a great Passion, and immediately took Shipping for *Rome*: His Appearance there was so unexpected, that he was generally censured, not only by his Enemies, but also by the Commons; who thought it an unreasonable thing, that He being *Quæstor* should desert the Army before his Commander. When this Misdemeanor came to be tried before the *Censors*, he desired leave to make his Apology, which he did so effectually, that his Auditor quickly entertained a better Opinion of him, believing that he had been very much injured. He

(1) The Senate being persuaded that the Army under *Orestes* was entirely devoted to *Caius*, who had done them so signal a Service in getting Cloathing for them, thought they should have their Revenge upon him in recalling Them, and sending Others to replace them, who having not the same Obligations would be the less inclined to him. But could not Those they recalled be as serviceable to *Caius* at *Rome* as in the Camp? This seems to have been an Error in Politicks. In all likelihood the Senate had their Eye upon the present Danger, and did not extend their Care to That which was yet at some Distance. In This their Prudence was to be called in Question.

made it then appear, (1) *that he had served Twelve Years in the Army, whereas Others are obliged to serve only Ten; that he had continued Quæstor to the General Three Years, whereas he might by Law have returned at the end of One; that none but He in that Expedition carried his Purse full to the Army, and brought it back empty; and that the rest having drank the Wine they had carried in their Vessels, brought them back filled with the Riches and Spoils of the Country.* After This, they brought other Accusations and Writs against him, for creating Differences amongst the Allies, and for having been engaged in the Conspiracy at *Fregella*; but he gave in so clear an Answer to all these Accusations that he not only appeared wholly innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but made what Interest he could to be elected Tribune; in which, though he was generally opposed by all Persons of Quality, yet there came such infinite Numbers of People from all Parts of *Italy* to Vote for *Caius*, that many wanted Lodgings in the City; and the *Campus Martius* being not large enough to contain the Company, there were several who gave their Votes from Roofs and Battlements of Houses: However the Nobility did so influence the People, and cross *Caius's* Expectations, that he was not returned the First, (as was expected) but the fourth Tribune. However they got nothing by That, for he was no sooner installed in his Office but he became the First. Be-

(1) *Aulus Gellius* has preserved the greatest part of this Speech of *Caius*, which we find in the xii. cap. of his xv. Book. There *Caius* Himself saith *Biennium enim fui in Provincia. I was two Years in the Province*; and it is a question which of these two Texts is in the right, This of *Plutarch*. or That of *Aulus Gellius*.

I am of Opinion that it ought to be *three* Years as it stands in *Plutarch*, and not *two* as we find it in *Aulus Gellius*. For *Caius* had been Quæstor in the Years 627, 628, and 629. since it is plain that he did not return to *Rome* 'till towards the end of the Year 629.

sides he was not only a much better Orator than any of his Cotemporaries; but the Concern which he still retained for the Murther of his Brother, made him the bolder in speaking. He used on all Occasions to remind the People of what had happened in that Tumult, and laid before them the Examples of their Ancestors; how they declared War against the *Falisci*, only for giving scurrilous Language to one *Genutius*, a Tribune of the People; and sentenced *C. Vulturius* to death, for taking the Wall of a Tribune in the Streets: *Whereas*, said he, *these Persons did, in the presence of you all, murther Tiberius with Clubs, and dragged the slaughtered Body through the middle of the City, to be cast into the River; even his Friends, as many as could be taken, were put to death immediately, without any Tryal, notwithstanding that just and ancient Custom, which was always observed among our Forefathers; that whenever any one was accused of a capital Crime, and did not make his personal Appearance in Court, a Trumpet was sent in the Morning to his Lodging, to summon him to appear: And before this Ceremony was duly performed, the Judges would never proceed to pass Sentence; so cautious and reserved were our Ancestors in Cases relating to Life and Death.*

Caius having moved the People with such Speeches, (for his Voice was loud and strong) proposed two Laws: The first was, *That whoever was turned out of any publick Office by the People, he should be thereby rendered incapable of bearing Any afterwards.* The second, *That if any Magistrate shall condemn a Roman to be banished, without a legal Tryal, the People shall be authorized to take Cognizance thereof.*

One of these Laws was manifestly levelled at *M. Octavius*, who, at the Instigation of *Tiberius*, had been deprived of his Tribuneship: The Other

touched

rou
niss
bei
flec
abr
dine
ther
sing
for
Chi
a St
scrip
The
used
larit
How
nelia
Perf
pect
you c
forth
know
Men
many
lecte
fed
thori
Th
whic
tizen
An
that
with
none
was

(1)
this Si

ouched *Popilius*, who, in his Prætorship, had banished all *Tiberius's* Friends; whereupon *Popilius*, being unwilling to stand the hazard of a Tryal, fled out of *Italy*. As for the former Law, it was abrogated by *Caius* Himself, who declared his readiness to oblige *Octavius*, for the sake of his Mother *Cornelia*: This was very acceptable and pleasing to the People, who had a great Veneration for *Cornelia*, both in respect to her Father, and her Children; and therefore they afterwards erected a Statue of Brass in Honour of her, with this Inscription, (1) *Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi*. There are several Expressions in writing, which he used perhaps with too much Affection and Popularity concerning her, to one of her Adversaries: *How*, said he, *dare you presume to reflect upon Cornelia, the Mother of Tiberius?* And because the Person who made the Reflections, had been suspected for Sodomy, *With what Face*, said he, *can you compare Cornelia with your self? Have you brought forth such Children as she has done? And yet all Rome knows, that she has refrained from the Conversation of Men, longer than you your self have done.* These, and many other such Satyrical Expressions, may be collected out of his Writings. He afterwards proposed several other Laws, to raise the People's Authority, and to detract from That of the Senate.

The First was concerning the publick Lands, which were to be divided amongst the poor Citizens.

Another was concerning the common Soldiers, that they should be cloathed at the publick Charge, without any diminution of their Pay; and that none should be obliged to serve in the Army, who was not full seventeen Years old.

(1) What Grandeur is there in | to *Cornelia*, and the *Gracchi*, and
this Simplicity! how honourable | All in three Words in the Original.

Another gave an equal Liberty to all the *Italians* in general, of voting at Elections, as was granted to the Citizens of *Rome*.

Another was concerning the Price of Bread-corn, which was to be sold at a lower rate than formerly to the poor People.

Another was concerning Matters of Judicature, whereby the Authority of the Senate was very much retrenched.

For only Senators were formerly Judges in all Causes, by which means their Authority was very much dreaded by the *Roman* Knights, and the People: But he joined three hundred of the *Equestrian* Order with the Senators, who were three hundred likewise in Number; and ordained, That a judicial Authority should be equally invested in the six hundred. While he was arguing for the Ratification of this Law, his Behaviour was observed to be quite different from That of Others: For all other Orators in their Speeches used to turn their Faces towards the Senate-house, and the Place called *Comitium*: But He, on the contrary, was the first Man, that in his Harangue to the People, turned himself the other way towards Them, and after that time always observed the same Posture. Which however insignificant that Turn might seem, yet it was the Cause of no small one in State-Affairs: For He in a manner converted the Government from an *Aristocracy* to a *Democracy*, thereby intimating by that Action, That all Orators in proposing State-Affairs, ought to speak to the People, and not to the Senate.

As soon as the Commonalty had ratified this Law, and given him Authority to elect Those whom he approved of, to be Judges, he was invested with such an absolute Power, that the Senate submitted to consult with him in Matters of Difficulty; and he always took care to advise no-

thing,

thin
Hon
solu
Pro
nou
Cor
ces
that
the
the
Ext
reig
Wa
for
lick
unde
and
the
takin
pedi
One
hate
activ
for
trans
wher
of
Sold
an ea
port
tions
the
mean
look
wher
ther
Natu

thing, that might any ways derogate from the Honour of that Body. As for Example : His Resolution about the Bread-corn, which *Fabius* the Proprætor sent from *Spain*, was very just and honourable ; for he persuaded the Senate to sell the Corn, and return the Money to the same Provinces which had furnished them with it ; and also that *Fabius* should be censured, for having rendered the *Roman* Government odious and insupportable to the Provinces abroad. This Proposal got him an Extraordinary Respect and Favour among the Foreign Provinces ; besides all This, he proposed Ways for the repeopling of several ruinous Cities, for repairing the High-ways, and for building publick Granaries. Of all which Works He himself undertook the Management and Superintendency ; and was never wanting to give necessary Orders for the quick Dispatch of great and difficult Undertakings ; and that too, with such wonderful Expedition and Diligence, as if they had been only One : Insomuch that all Persons, even Those who hated or feared him, stood amazed to see how active and industrious he was in all his Designs. As for the People Themselves, they were strangely transported at the very Sight of him ; especially whenever they saw him surrounded with Crowds of Labourers, Artificers, Messengers, Officers, Soldiers, and Scholars. All These he treated with an easie Familiarity ; yet always took care to support his Dignity, even in his greatest Condescensions, accommodating his Carriage according to the Quality of every particular Person, by which means he so far prevailed, that his Enemies were looked upon as no better than envious Detractors, when-ever they presumed to represent him either dangerous, rash, or guilty of the least ill Nature.

He had that peculiar art of insinuating himself, and gaining by degrees upon the Commonalty, that he became rather more Popular by his common Conversation, than by his publick Harangues.

But his greatest Endeavour was to put the Highways into good Condition, always taking care to make them handsom and pleasant, as well as convenient. They were drawn by his Directions, through the Fields, exactly in a straight Line; some paved with hewn Stone, others covered with binding Sand, brought thither from the Places adjacent for that Purpose: When he met with any Valleys or deep Holes, occasioned by great Floods, he either caused them to be filled up with Rubbish, or Bridges to be built over, so well levelled, that they being of an equal height on both sides, the whole Work made a beautiful Prospect. Besides This, he caused the Ways to be all divided into Miles, (each Mile containing little less than eight Furlongs) and erected Pillars of Stone, to signify the distance from one Place to another: He likewise placed other Stones at small distances from one another, on both sides of the Way, by means whereof Travellers might get easier on Horse-back (1) without the help of Servants. For these Reasons, the People highly extolled him, and were ready upon all Occasions to express their Affection towards him. One Day, in an Oration to the People, he declared, *that he had only one Favour to request; which, if granted, as he should think it the greatest Obligation in the World; so, if it were denied, he would never blame them for the Refusal.* This Expression made the World believe, that his Am-

(1) This is the Signification of the Words in the Text ἀναβολέως μὴ δεομένων. Ἀναβολεὺς was a Servant whose particular Office it was to assist his Master when he mounted on Horseback. They who render it *without Stirrups* are much mistaken, for the use of Stirrups was not known in those days.

bition was to be Consul; and it was generally expected that he would be both Consul and Tribune at the same time. When the Day for Election of Consuls came, and All were in great Expectation, to see what would be the Event of that Day's Work; he appeared in the Field with *Caius Fannius*, and made all the Interest he could for Him, that He might be chosen Consul. This Interest was so considerably useful to *Fannius*, that he was immediately declared Consul; and *Caius* likewise was then elected Tribune the second time, without his own seeking, or petitioning for it, but at the voluntary Motion of the People.

When he understood that the Senators were his declared Enemies, and that *Fannius* Himself was none of the truest Friends, he began again to flatter the People with other new Laws. He proposed that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be sent to Re-people *Tarentum* and *Capua*, and that all the *Latins* should enjoy the same Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate apprehending that he would at last grow too powerful and dangerous, took a new and unusual course to alienate the Peoples Affections from him, by their gratifying them in things beyond what they could reasonably expect. *Livius Drusus* was Fellow-Tribune with *Caius*, a Person of as good a Family, and as well Educated as Any amongst the *Romans*, and no ways inferior to Those, who for their Eloquence and Riches were the most Famous and Powerful Men of that time. To Him therefore the chief Senators make their Application, exhorting him to fall upon *Caius*; and that he would engage himself on their side in opposition to Him, not by using any Force, or opposing of the common People, but in gratifying and obliging them with such unreasonable things, as might otherwise very well deserve to be detested.

Livius offered to serve the Senate with his Authority in this Business, and in order thereunto enacted such Laws as were in reality neither honourable nor advantageous for the Publick; his whole Design being to out-do *Caius* in pleasing and cajoling the Populace (as Comedians do) with obsequious Flattery and Popularity; whereby the Senate gave plain Testimonies, that they were not at all displeased with *Caius's* Management of Affairs, but privately designed either to ruin him utterly, or at least to lessen his Reputation. For when *Caius* proposed the Re-peopling of only two Colonies, and mentioned the most considerable Citizens for that purpose, they accused Him for abusing the People; but on the contrary were pleased with *Drusus*, when he proposed the sending of twelve Colonies abroad, and each to consist of three thousand Persons, and Those too the most beggarly Rascals that he could find. When *Caius* divided the Publick Fields amongst the poor Citizens, and charged them with a small Rent, annually to be paid into the *Exchequer*, they were angry at Him, as One who pretended to gratifie the People only for his own Interest; yet afterwards they commended *Drusus*, though He exempted them from paying even that little Acknowledgment. Besides they were displeased with *Caius*, for giving the *Latins* an equal Power with the *Romans*, of voting at the Election of Magistrates; but when *Drusus* proposed, that it might not be Lawful for a *Roman* Captain to scourge a *Latin* Soldier, they promoted the passing of that Law: And *Drusus* in all his Speeches to the Mobile, always told them, *That He proposed no Laws but Such as were agreeable to the Senate, who had a particular regard to the Advantage of the People.* And This truly was the only Action during the time of his Tribuneship, which proved advantageous to the Publick; For the People

ple were by This inclined to shew a more than ordinary Love and Respect to the Senate: And whereas they formerly suspected and hated the Principal Senators, *Livius* appeased and mitigated all their Perverseness and Animosity, by persuading them, that he had done nothing in Favour and for the Benefit of the Commons, without Their Advice and Approbation. But the greatest Credit which *Drusus* got for his Kindness and Justice towards the People, was, that he never seemed to propose any Law either of his own Head, or for his own Advantage; for he committed the Charge of seeing the Colonies rightly settled, to other Commissioners: Neither did he ever concern himself with the Distribution of the Monies; whereas *Caius* always reserved to Himself most of the Commissions, especially Those that were of the greatest Importance.

When *Rubrius*, another Tribune of the People, had proposed to have *Carthage* again Inhabited, which had been formerly demolished by *Scipio*, it fell to *Caius's* Lot to see the same performed, and for that purpose he sailed into *Africa*. *Drusus* took this Opportunity of his Absence to insinuate himself still more into the People's Affections, which he did chiefly by accusing *Fulvius*, who was a particular Friend to *Caius*, and deputed a Commissioner with him for the Division of the Lands. This *Fulvius* was a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and notoriously hated by the Senate; and besides, he was suspected by most of the *Romans* to have fomented a Difference between Them and their Confederates and under-hand to have persuaded the *Italians* to rebel; tho' there was no other way to prove the Truth of these Accusations, than by his being a suspicious Person, and of a seditious Temper. This was one principal Cause of *Caius's* Ruin; for part of the Envy which fell upon *Fulvius* devolved upon

upon Him: And when *Scipio Africanus* happened to die suddenly, and no outward Cause of such an unexpected Death appeared, except some marks of Blows upon his Body, which intimated that he had been violently murdered, (as we have related in the History of his Life) the greatest part of the Blame was thrown upon *Fulvius*, because he was his mortal Enemy, and that very Day had reflected upon *Scipio* publicly in the Tribunal; nor was *Caius* Himself clear from Suspicion: However such an horrible Murther, and committed too upon the Person of one of the greatest and most considerable Men in *Rome*, was never either punished or enquired into thorowly; for the Mobile opposed and hindered the Proceedings of Justice, for fear that *Caius* should be found accessory to the Murther; but these things happened some time after. Whilst *Caius* was taken up in *Africa* in rebuilding, and re-peopling *Carthage*, (which he (1) named *Junonia*) many ominous Prodigies which presaged Mischief, are reported to have been sent from the Gods. For a sudden gust of Wind falling upon the first Colours, and the Ensign holding it fast, the Staff broke: Another sudden Storm blew away the Sacrifices which were laid upon the Altar, and carried them over the Palissades that had been set up to mark out the Boundaries for the new City, and some Wolves in their Incurfions carried off the Palissades themselves.

(1) Here we find *Carthage* named *Junonia*, that is the City of *Juno*, by *Caius* near a hundred Years before *Virgil* undertook his *Æneid*, and consequently the Poet made use of no Fiction when he said,

*Quam Juno fertur terris magis
omnibus unam*

Post habitâ coluisse Samo.

It is plain he was therein authorized by a received Tradition, the same with That which had induced *Caius* to change the antient Name of *Carthage* into That of *Junonia*.

Caius

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

123

Caius in spite of all these unlucky Omens having regulated, and settled every thing in the space of seventy days, made what haste he could to return to *Rome*, where he understood that *Fulvius* was prosecuted by *Drusus*, and that the present Juncture of Affairs required his Presence. For *Lucius Hostilius*, who was a zealous Stickler for the Nobility, and had great Interest in the Senate, having the preceding Year stood for the Consulate, lost it through the Opposition raised by *Caius* in favour of *Fannius*. But he was now in a fair way of carrying his Point, for he was supported by a very numerous, and powerful Party; and it was generally believed, that if he did obtain it, he would wholly ruin *Caius's* Interest, whose Power was already in a declining Condition; and the People were not so apt to admire his Actions as formerly, because there were several others who every Day contrived new ways to please the People, with which the Senate did readily comply. After his Return to *Rome*, he quitted his House on the *Palatine* Mount, and went to live near the *Forum*, thereby endeavouring to make himself more popular in those Parts, where most of the pitiful and meanest Inhabitants were lodged. In the next place he endeavoured to propose other Laws, in order to have them ratified by popular Votes; upon which account he convened a prodigious number of People from all the adjacent Places: But the Senate persuaded *Fannius* the Consul, to command all Persons, who were not Natives and Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City. A new and unusual Proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the Allies or Confederates to appear at *Rome* during that time. *Caius* on the contrary published an Edict, accusing the Consul for what he had done, and setting forth to the Confederates, that if they would continue upon the Place,

Place, they might be assured of His Assistance and Protection. However he was not so good as his Word; for though he saw One of his own familiar Friends and Companions dragged to Prison by *Fannius's* Officers, he notwithstanding passed by, without either assisting him, or taking any Notice of him: Which he did, either because he was afraid to stand the Test of his Power, which was already decreased, or because he (as Himself reported) was unwilling to give his Enemies an opportunity, which they very much desired, of making an Insurrection. About that time there happened likewise a Difference between Him and his Fellow-Officers upon This Occasion: A Prize was to be fought before the People in the *Forum*, and most of the Magistrates erected Scaffolds round about, with an Intention of letting them for Advantage, *Caius* commanded them to take down their Scaffolds, that the poor People might see the Sport without paying any thing. But no Body obeying his Orders, he gathered together some Labourers, and overthrew all the Scaffolds, the very Night before the Prize was to be play'd, so that by next Morning the *Forum* was cleared, and the common People had an opportunity of seeing the Pastime gratis. Upon this account, the Rabble esteemed him as a Man of great Generosity; but he very much disoblinded his Collegues, and the Action was looked upon as full of Rashness and Presumption.

This was thought to be the chief Reason that he failed of being a third time elected Tribune; not but that he had the most Votes, but because his Collegues out of Revenge caused false Returns to be made. But as to this Matter there is not much Credit to be given: Certain it is, he very much resented this Repulse, and behaved himself with an unusual sort of Arrogance towards Some of his

Adversa-

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

125

Adversaries, who were joyful at his Defeat, telling them, *That all their Mirth was no better than a Sardonian Laugh; they being wholly in the dark, as to the Schemes he was forming.*

As soon as *Opimius* was chosen Consul, they cancelled several of *Caius's* Laws, and caused an Inquiry to be made into his Transactions at *Carthage*, omitting nothing which was most probable to enrage him, that from some effect of his Passion they might find out a colourable pretence to put him to Death. *Caius* at first bore these things very patiently; but afterwards, at the Instigation of his Friends, especially *Fulvius*, he resolved to raise Forces, and oppose the Authority of the Consuls. His Mother *Cornelia* also is reported by Some to have assisted in carrying on this Sedition, by sending privately several Strangers into *Rome*, under pretence as if they came to be hired there for Harvestmen; and she acquainted her Son with this Project, by writing Letters to him in Cyphers: However it is confidently affirmed by Others, that *Cornelia* did not in the least approve of these Actions.

When the Day came, in which *Opimius* designed to abrogate the Laws of *Caius*, both Parties met very early at the Capitol; and the Consul having performed all the Rites usual in their Sacrifices, one *Quintus Attyllius*, a Serjeant, carrying out the Entrails of the Beast, spoke to *Fulvius*, and his Friends who stood about him, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honest Men.* Some report, that besides this provoking Language, he extended his naked Arm towards them, which is reckoned as a piece of Scorn and Contempt. Upon This they presently flew him, with a sort of *Bodkins* or *Pencils*, which it is said they had provided themselves with for that Purpose. This Murther caused a sudden Consternation in the whole Assembly, and the Heads of each Faction had their different Resent-

Resentments of it: As for *Caius*, he was in a great Passion, and severely reprimanded Some of his own Party, because they had given their Adversaries a colourable pretence to proceed against them, for which they had been so long watching: *Optimius* presently closing with this occasion, stood up, and excited the People to Revenge; but there happening a great Shower of Rain on the sudden, it put an end to the Business of that Day.

Early the next Morning the Consul summoned the Senate, and whilst He was dispatching Affairs in the House, the Corps of *Attyllius*, as it had been before concerted, was laid upon a Bier, and brought through the *Forum* to the Senate-House with loud Outcries and Lamentations. *Optimius* knew very well that This was all Design; however he seemed to be surprized, and wondered what the meaning of it should be; so that the Senators went out to enquire into the occasion of it; and standing round the Corps, they condoled the Person that was slain, and represented it as an inhuman and barbarous Action. Notwithstanding which this Scene produced quite different Sentiments in the Minds of the People than what had been expected, and intended by it. For it raised in them a Detestation of the Nobility, and exposed in its proper Colours the infamous Partiality of the Senators, who could without any Remorse assassinate *Tiberius Gracchus*, a Tribune of the People, in the very Capitol, and in the Execution of his Office, and throw his mangled Corps into the River; and now when so mercenary a Fellow as *Attyllius* a common Serjeant, who if he fell unjustly had no one to thank for it but Himself, when his Body lies exposed to publick View, They surround the Bier, lament his Fate, wash his Corps with their Tears, and pay uncommon Honours to his Obsequies; and all This with a design to undermine the only Person left, who

was zealous for the Safety and Welfare of the People.

The Senators after some time withdrew into their House, where they immediately passed a Decree, enjoining *Opimius* the Consul to see that the Common-wealth suffered no Damage, and to make use of all his Power for the suppressing of Tyrants. The Decree being passed, the Consul immediately commanded the Senators to arm themselves, and the *Roman* Knights to be in a readiness very early the next Morning and every one of them to be attended with two Servants well-armed. *Fulvius* on the other side got together the Rabble, and prepared to oppose him. As *Caius* was returning from the *Forum*, he made a full stop just before his Father's Statue, and fixing his Eyes for some time upon it, remained in a deep Contemplation; at length he sighed, let fall a few Tears, and departed. This made no small Impression upon Those who saw it, and they began to upbraid themselves, that they should desert and betray so worthy a Man as *Caius*. They therefore went directly to his House, remaining there as a Guard about it all Night, but in a different manner from Those who were a Guard to *Fulvius*; for They gave themselves up to Noise and Debauch, *Fulvius* Himself prompting them to it by his own Example. For He got drunk first, and spoke and acted many things in his Cups very unbecoming a Man of his Character; on the other side, the Party which guarded *Caius* were very diligent, relieving one another by turns, and prudently forecasting, as is usual in all publick Calamities, what the Issue of things might be. As soon as Day-light appeared, *Fulvius*, who slept sound after the Dose he had taken the Night before, was with much Difficulty rouzed by his Party, who armed themselves with Weapons which hung up in his House, and had been formerly taken
from

from the Gauls, whom he conquer'd in the time of his Consulship, and being thus accoutred they marched with loud Cries and Menaces to possess themselves of the *Aventine Mount*.

Caius could not be persuaded to arm himself, but went out in his Gown, as if he had been going to the Assembly of the People, only he had a short Dagger under it. As he was going out, his Wife came running to him at the Gate, holding Him with one Hand, and her little Son with the other, and address'd herself to him in the most tender manner following. *Alas Caius, I do not now part with you, as if you were going to make Speeches to the People, either as a Tribune or a Law-giver; nor as if you were entering upon some glorious Expedition, wherein if the Chance of War should deprive Me of a Life so dear and precious, at least my Loss in that Case would be no less honourable than inconsolable. But now, Caius, you expose your Person to the infamous Murderers of Tiberius, and That too unarmed, chusing rather to suffer the worst of Injuries, than be in a capacity of doing the least Your self; wherein your Prudence is not so much to be commended as your Generosity, since the Death you are now running upon can be of no avail to your Country. Faction prevails; Violence and the Sword are now the only measures of Justice: Had your Brother fallen before Numantia, the Enemy would have been obliged by the Law of Arms to have given back what remained of Tiberius; but such is My hard Fate, that I probably must be an humble Suppliant to the Floods and to the Waves, that They would somewhere discover to my View their sacred Charge of your Relicks; for what Protection can we promise ourselves either from the Laws, or the Gods, since the Murther of Tiberius? Whilst Licinnia was thus bewailing herself, Caius got gently and by degrees out of her Embraces, and marched on in Silence with his Friends that accompanied him.*

She

She endeavouring to lay hold of his Robe, fell prostrate upon the Earth, where she lay a long time speechless. At last her Servants seeing her in that Condition took her up, and convey'd her to her Brother *Crassus*.

Fulvius, when the People were gathered together in a full Body, by the advice of *Caius*, sent his youngest Son into the *Forum*, with an Herald's Wand in his Hand. He being a very handsome Youth, and modestly addressing himself, with Tears in his Eyes, and a becoming Bashfulness, humbly offered Proposals of Agreement to the Consul and the whole Senate. The major part of the Assembly were inclinable to accept of the Proposals; but *Opimius* was of Opinion, *that it did not become Them to send their Heralds and capitulate with the Senate; but to surrender themselves as Persons self-convicted, and endeavour to merit their Pardon by their Submission.* At the same time He commanded the Youth not to return, unless they would comply with these Conditions. *Caius*, as it is reported, was very forward to go and clear himself before the Senate; but none of his Friends consenting to it, *Fulvius* sent his Son a second time to intercede for them as before. But *Opimius*, who desired nothing more than to come to Blows, and decide the Matter with the Sword, caused the Youth to be apprehended, and committed into safe Custody; and then with a strong Body of Foot-Soldiers, and some *Cretan* Archers, he set upon that Party which was under the Command of *Fulvius*. The Archers did such Execution, and wounded their Enemies so mortally, that they were soon put to Flight. *Fulvius* absconded for a time in an old *Bagnio*; but shortly after being discovered, He and his eldest Son were slain together.

Caius was not observed to encounter any one; but, extremely concerned at these Outrages, he re-

tired to *Diana's Temple*: There he attempted to kill himself, but was hinder'd by his faithful Friends, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*: They took his Sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavour to make his Escape. It is reported, that before he quitted the Temple he fell upon his Knees, and lifting up his Hands to the Goddess, he prayed earnestly that the Romans, as a Punishment for their Ingratitude and Treachery, might always remain in perpetual Slavery; for as soon as a Proclamation was made of a Pardon, they immediately deserted him.

Whilst *Caius* was endeavouring to make his Escape, he was so closely pursued by his Enemies, that they were just upon his Heels by that time he was got to the *Sublician* or *Wooden Bridge*. There his two generous Friends, who had never forsaken him, forced him to make the best of his way, whilst They Two opposed his Pursuers; at the same time posting themselves at the Foot of the Bridge with Sword in Hand, they made so vigorous a Resistance that no one could pass 'till they had killed them Both upon the Spot. *Caius* had no other Companion in his Flight but one of his Slaves called *Philocrates*. All indeed encouraged him, as they do Champions when they enter the Lifts, but not a Man of them assisted him, or would so much as lend him a Horse, tho' he earnestly desired it, because his Enemies had gained Ground, and were just upon him. However, he had so far the Heels of them as to get into a Grove (1) consecrated to the Furies. There he was slain

(1) Thus *Plutarch* very rightly expounds what the Romans call *Lucum Furina*, the Grove of the Goddess *Furina*. For that Goddess was *Æρεννὸς Furina*. And this Grove was near the *Sublician Bridge*. *Aurelius Victor* clears up

this whole Passage, and gives us the Names of those two Friends, who generously opposed themselves to the Pursuers, that *Caius* might thereby have an Opportunity of making his Escape. *Pomponio amico apud portam Tergeminam*,

slain by his Slave, who when he had rendered that last Service to his Master killed Himself. Some say they were Both taken alive by their Enemies, and that *Philocrates* embraced his Master so close, that they could not wound *Caius* 'till they had slain Him.

They say, that when *Caius*'s Head was cut off, and carried away by one of his Murtherers, One of the Friends of *Opimius*, called *Septimuleius*, met him, and forced it from him; because, before the Battel began, they had made Proclamation, that whoever should bring the Heads either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, he should, as a Reward, receive their weight in Gold. *Septimuleius* therefore having fixed *Caius*'s Head upon the top of his Spear, came and presented it to *Opimius* the Consul. They presently brought the Scales, and it was found to weigh above seventeen Pounds. But in this Affair, *Septimuleius* gave as great signs of his Knavery, as he had done before of his Cruelty; for having taken out the Brains, he filled the Skull with Lead. There were Others who brought the Head of *Fulvius* too; but did not receive the Reward, because they proved to be Persons very mean and inconsiderable.

The Corps of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, as well as of the rest who had been slain, to the number of three thousand Men, were all thrown into the River; their Goods were confiscated, and their Widows forbid to put themselves into Mourning: But they

nam. P. Latorio in ponte Sublicio persequentibus resistens, in Lucum Furina pervenit. This Goddess had a High-Priest called *Flamen Furinalis*, and a Festival called *Furinalia*. Varro in his fifth Book de Lingua Latina, *Furinalia*. & Furina quod ei Dea FERIA publica

Antiquos nam ei sacra instituta antea, & Flamen attributus, nunc vix Nomen notum paucis. This is likewise mentioned by Festus, *Furinalia, Sacra Furina, quam Deam dicebant*. In the Roman Calendar her Festival is marked against the twenty fifth of July. Fur. N. P. Ludi.

dealt more severely with *Licina* the Wife of *Caius*, for they wronged Her even of her Jointure; and as an addition still to all their Inhumanity, they barbarously murdered *Fulvius's* youngest Son, tho' he had not taken up Arms against them, or been present in the Battel. His Crime was, he had proposed Articles of Agreement: For which he was first imprisoned, and then slain.

But That which enraged the common People beyond all these things, was, the Temple of Concord built at that time by *Opimius*, as if he gloried and triumphed in the Slaughter of so many Citizens: Wherefore some body, the Night after the Dedication of the Temple, placed the following Verse under the Inscription:

Ἐργον ἀπονοίας, ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποίηται.

Folly to Concord has this Temple rais'd.

This *Opimius* was the first, who during his Consulship presumed to usurp the Power of a Dictator, and condemned, without Tryal, not only three thousand Citizens, but *Caius Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*: One of whom had triumphed, and been Consul; the Other far excelled all his Contemporaries in Virtue and Honour. Notwithstanding This, *Opimius* could not refrain himself from Extortion and Bribery; for when he was sent Ambassador to *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, he was there corrupted by Presents, and at his Return being shamefully convicted of it, he was hated and reproached by the common People: so that growing melancholy, and his Spirits sinking, his Infamy still increased with his Years.

It quickly now appeared to the World, what Respect and Veneration the People had for the Memory of the *Gracchi*. They ordered their Sta-

tues

tues to be made, and fixed up in publick view; they consecrated the Places where they were slain, and brought thither the first Fruits of every thing, according to the Season of the Year, which they offered to their Memories. Many came likewise thither to their Devotions, and daily worshipped there, as at the Temples of the Gods.

It is reported, that as *Cornelia*, their Mother, bore the loss of her two Sons with a noble and undaunted Spirit; so in reference to the Temples in which they were slain, she said, *Their Memory deserved such Monuments*. She spent the rest of her Days at a Country-Seat near Mount *Misenum*, varying in nothing from her former way of Living. She was very much respected and beloved, and kept open House for the Entertainment of all Strangers, having daily a great number of *Grecians* and Learned Men, who resorted thither: Nor was there any foreign Prince but received Gifts from her, and presented her again. Those who were most conversant with her, were much diverted, when-ever she was pleased to entertain them with any Relation concerning her Father *Scipio Africanus*, and his way of Living. But it was very surprizing to hear her make mention of her Sons, without any Tears or sign of Grief; and to give a full Account of all their Deeds and Misfortunes, as unconcern'd, as if she had been relating the History of some ancient Heroes. This caused Some to imagine, that Age, or the greatness of her Afflictions, had made her delirious, and wholly insensible of her Calamities; But They who were of that Opinion, were ignorant that a noble Birth and generous Education administer infallible Remedies under the greatest Afflictions; and that tho' Fortune may sometimes stagger the Virtue of such as have been so born and educated, in times of Prosperity;

The Comparison of the Gracchi

city; (1) yet she cannot force from them that Serenity and Resolution, which never forsakes them in the Days of Adversity.



The Comparison of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi with Agis and Cleomenes.

HAVING thus given an Account severally of these Persons, nothing remains but to take a View of them, in Comparison with one another.

As for the *Gracchi*; the greatest Detractors, and their worst Enemies, could not but allow, that they had a Genius to Virtue, beyond all other *Romans*, which was improved also by a generous Education. Whereas (2) *Agis* and *Cleomenes* seemed to have had better natural Parts, and a more solid Judgment; for though they wanted all the Advantages of good Education, and were bred up in those very Customs, Manners, and Way of Living, which had for a long time corrupted Others, yet They were publick Examples of Temperance and Frugality.

(3) Besides, the *Gracchi* happening to live when *Rome* was in her highest Reputation for Honour and virtuous

(1) This is confirmed by Experience. A Virtuous Man who cannot be Proof against the Blandishments of Fortune in Prosperity, is unmoved, and stands the shock of all her Fury in Adversity. The Reason of which is evident; One of these States softens and relaxes the Mind, whereas the Other hardens and confirms it.

(2) In truth, where a Man carries it to such a Pitch as to ren-

der himself a perfect Model of Virtue by the meer dint of Nature, and without the Assistance of Education, This is an Instance of a Genius far more exalted, and superior to That of Him who has had the Assistance of an excellent Education.

(3) When a Man happens to be born of virtuous Parents, and in an Age when all kinds of Virtue flourish and abound, it is no great Merit

virtuous Actions, might justly have been ashamed, if they had not inherited the Virtues of their Ancestors: Whereas the other Two had Parents of different Morals; and though they found their Country in a sinking Condition, and debauched, yet That did not quench their forward Zeal to what was Just and Honourable.

It is true, a great Instance of the Uprightness and Integrity of the *Gracchi*, and of their Contempt of Riches appears in This, that during the whole time of their Administration they kept their Hands clean, and free from the least Imputation of Bribery. (1) But *Agis* might very justly have resented it, if any one had commended Him for not having wronged or defrauded any Man: He who distributed among his Fellow-Citizens his own Estate, amounting to six hundred Talents in ready Money, besides many other Articles of a considerable Value. And sure Extortion must appear a Crime of a strange Nature to Him, who esteemed it a piece of Covetousness, to possess greater Riches than his Neighbours, though never so justly gotten.

Their Politicks likewise, and Transactions, in reference to State-Affairs, were of a very different Nature. The chiefest things in general that the Two *Romans* commonly aimed at, was the Repair-

rit in such a Man to be virtuous; for in that Case the Shame of being otherwise is so very great as to be alone sufficient to restrain the most Vicious and Degenerate; whereas a Man born in the midst of Vice and Corruption, if He dares be virtuous, His Virtue shines with a greater Splendor, and appears more august and illustrious. In this particular *Agis* and *Cleomenes* have by much the Advantage over the *Gracchi*.

(1) In what a noble as well as beautiful Light, does *Plutarch* place the Advantage *Agis* hath over the *Gracchi* in this Article of Integrity! The *Gracchi* invaded no Man's Property, but *Agis* gave up his Own. The *Gracchi* considered the taking what belonged to another as an unrighteous Gain, and *Agis* thought it an unpardonable Avarice to withhold what belonged to Himself.

The Comparison of the Gracchi

ing of Cities, and mending of High-ways; and in particular, the most generous Design which *Tiberius* is famed for, was his Division of the Lands amongst the poor People: And *Caius* gained his greatest Reputation, by the addition of three hundred of the Commonalty to the same number of Senators, investing them with an equal Authority.

Whereas the Alteration which *Agis* and *Cleomenes* made, was in a quite different manner. They did not redress things by little and little, and cure small Distempers; for that would have been (according to *Plato*) like cutting off one of the *Hydra's* Heads, which was the only means to encrease the Number: But they made a thorow Reformation, and at once freed their Country from all Grievances; or to speak more truly, they took away that Change, which was the Cause of all their Calamities, and so restored their City to its Ancient State.

(1) To This may be added, that in whatever the *Gracchi* attempted in the Government, they were constantly opposed by the chief Men in the State. Whereas all those great things which were first attempted by *Agis*, and afterwards consummated by *Cleomenes*, were supported by the famous Authority of those Ancient *Laws* concerning *Frugality* and *Levelling*, which were instituted by *Lycurgus*, ratified and confirmed by *A-*

(1) This is another Advantage which *Agis* and *Cleomenes* have over the *Gracchi*. In all their Undertakings They were opposed by Men of the greatest Authority and Reputation in the State; whereas in every thing undertaken first by *Agis*, and at last perfected by *Cleomenes*, they had the

Authority of their fundamental Laws, the Voice of *Lycurgus*, and even of *Apollo* Himself for their Vouchers. And it is not to be doubted, but whatever is founded upon lawful Authority is to be preferred to That which runs counter to it.

polle.

pollo. It is also further observable, (1) That from the Transactions of the *Gracchi*, the City of *Rome* received no Additions to her former Greatness; whereas, by the Conduct of *Cleomenes*, *Greece* presently saw, that *Sparta* exerted her Sovereign Power over all *Peloponnesus*, and she still sought to enlarge her Dominions, with the greatest Princes of that Age; designing by all her Warlike Actions, to set *Greece* at Liberty, from her Subjection to the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, and restore her Government, as formerly, to the Race of *Hercules*.

(2) Some Observations may likewise be made upon these great Men from their different manner of

(1) This is the Sixth Advantage, and a very considerable one in favour of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. That Governour certainly is most commendable, whose Conduct has tended most to the Benefit and Improvement of his Country. In this Consideration, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, who made *Sparta* Mistress of *Peloponnesus*, are preferable to the *Gracchi*, whose whole Administration did not add one Foot of Land to their Country.

(2) This Judgment of *Plutarch* is very considerable, and deserves to be examined. He gives *Agis* and *Cleomenes* the Advantage over the *Gracchi*, on Account of the Difference there was between them in their several Deaths; because the *Gracchi* fought against their Fellow-Citizens, and being put to Flight fell miserable Victims to the Vengeance and Indignation of the Nobility; whereas of the two *Grecians*, *Agis* chose to dye rather than be the Death of one of his Fellow-Citizens; and *Cleomenes*, after having done All that could be expected from a Man

of his distinguish'd Courage in the Extremity to which he had been reduced, killed Himself. I cannot think this Decision perfectly agreeable to Justice. It is certain that the Death of *Agis* was more glorious than That of *Tiberius*. *Agis* was condemned by his Citizens contrary to all Form of Justice, and dyed almost a voluntary Death, thinking himself more happy than They who had condemned him. In this Action indeed we find nothing but what is Great and Noble, and Nothing in That of *Tiberius* to be compared with it. In my Opinion the Same is not to be said of *Cleomenes*, whose Death seems inferior to That of *Caius*. It is true, *Cleomenes* gave very signal Tokens of an exalted Courage, but he was so weak as to kill himself, tho' a few Days before he had spoken many excellent Things against Those who seemed inclined to such a desperate Action. It is true, *Caius* was killed as he was flying, and seemed to give stronger Instances of his Precaution, than of his

The Comparison of the Gracchi

of dying. The *Gracchi*, fighting with their Fellow-Citizens, were Both slain, as they endeavoured to make their Escape; but *Agis* willingly submitted to his Fate, rather than occasion the Death of one of his Citizens. *Cleomenes* also being affronted and abused beyond all Patience, made an Effort towards Revenge, but failing of That generously fell by his own Hand.

But on the contrary we must consider, that *Agis* never did a great Action worthy a Commander, being prevented by an untimely Death. (1) And as for all the brave Actions of *Cleomenes*, we may justly compare with them That of *Tiberius*, when he was the First who scaled the Walls of *Carthage*. To which may be added likewise, (2) the Peace which he concluded with the *Numantines*, by which he saved the Lives of twenty thousand *Romans*, who otherwise had certainly been cut off. As for

his Courage. But in those Actions of Precaution, an heroick Courage breaks forth, a Courage peculiar to a good Man. He went, and exposed himself to the Fury of those who had murdered his Brother; he went unarmed, chusing to suffer the last Extremity rather than be an Aggressor. Such a Generosity is above all Commendation. Besides, his Death was attended with this lucky Circumstance, it remains a Doubt, whether his Slave killed him by his Master's Order, or if he fell by the Hands of his Enemies. *Plutarch* has too much Honour for those Suicides, and like a blind Heathen as he was, would make an Action of the greatest Weakness and Cowardice pass under the Name of Fortitude.

(1) This Passage is a Proof that *Plutarch* was not partial to the

Greeks in Prejudice to the *Romans*. However, I believe he will not meet with many who will be determined by Him. For how can any one compare the Action of *Tiberius*, who was the First to mount the Breach at the Attack of *Carthage*. Who, I say, can compare that Action with the Victories obtained by *Cleomenes*? To be the First to mount a Breach, is the Action of a Soldier full of Heat and Courage. We find in all Armies Men ambitious of such an Honour. But great and important Victories are the Fruits of a General's good Understanding and Capacity.

(2) It is not to be denied, but This was an Argument of his great Prudence and Ability, and I only say that a Man who has none of the Talents of a great Captain may be capable of the like.

Caius,

Caius, both in This War with the *Numantines*, and in *Sardinia*, he gave extraordinary Instances of his Valour; so that had not those two Brothers been cut off when they were young, they might have stood in Competition with the most renowned Generals among the *Romans*.

If we consider their Conduct in point of Government, we shall find that *Agis* held the Reins with too gentle and remiss a Hand; for he suffered himself to be imposed upon by *Agefilas*; he frustrated the Expectations of the Citizens, as to the Division of the *Lands*; and was constrained to leave all his Designs imperfect and unfinished, only for want of a manly Resolution. *Cleomenes*, on the contrary, acted more boldly and boisterously in all his publick Transactions, (1) and unjustly slew the *Ephori*, whom he might have gained over to his Party by the dint of his Authority, which was superior to *Theirs*, or at the worst have banished them as he did several Others of the City: For to cut off any Members, unless in the extreamest Necessity, is neither the part of a good Chirurgion, nor a Politician, but argues Unskilfulness in Both; and in the latter, Cruelty is added to Injustice.

Neither of the *Gracchi* were forward to be engaged in a Civil War; and *Caius* is reported to have avoided all manner of Revenge, even when his Life was aimed at, showing himself always Valiant against a Foreign Enemy, but wholly unactive in a Sedition. This was the Reason that he went from his own House unarmed, and was not present in the Battel; which makes it evident, that he was provided rather, not to do any harm to Others, than not to suffer any Himself. Even the very Flight of the *Gracchi* must not be looked

(1) This was an Action of so horrid a Nature, that Nothing can be offered in Excuse for it; No-

thing but some pernicious Maxims in Politicks which have been preached up in these later Ages.

The Comparison of the Gracchi

upon as an Argument of their mean Spirit, but an Honourable Retreat from endangering of Others; For if they had staid, they must either have yielded to Those who assaulted them, or else have fought in their own Defence. The greatest Crime that can be laid to *Tiberius*, was (1) the deposing of his Fellow-Tribune, and standing Himself for that Office a second time. And as for the Death of *Attylius*, it is falsely and unjustly attributed to *Gaius*; for as the Fact was committed without his Approbation, so was it much regretted and resented by him.

(2) On the contrary, *Cleomenes* (not to mention the Murther of the *Ephori*) set all the Slaves at Liberty, and governed by Himself alone in reality; whilst he made a shew of dividing the Power with his Brother *Euclidas*, whom he had called to the Throne to save Appearances, tho' even That was contrary to the Law, for he was of the same Family with Himself. He wrote indeed to *Archidamas*, the only Person who had a Right to reign in Conjunction with him, as being the Heir of the other Family, and perswaded him to return home from *Messene*. But He being slain immediately upon his Arrival, *Cleomenes* caused no Inquiry to be made into the Fact, in order to call the Murderers to Account, which made it suspected that He Himself had a Hand in his Death; wherein he differed much from *Lycurgus*, whom he pretended

(1) The Deposing of a Tribune was an Act of uncommon Violence, and we may add of great Impiety, since it was an Office deem'd Sacred. And his insisting upon a second Tribuneship was the Effect of an ungovernable Ambition, and a headstrong Obstinacy to carry on his Designs.

(2) As for his taking upon him to reign alone, That was not to be

justified in him, since it was contrary to the Laws of his Country; which required two Kings, and two Kings not of the same Family. His Enfranchisement of the *Ilotes* was done upon good Grounds, and on a pressing Occasion. For by that means he raised five hundred Talents, which put him in a Condition to stop the Progress of *Antigonus*.

to imitate. For *Lycurgus* freely surrendered to his Nephew the Kingdom committed to his Charge, and apprehending that in case the Youth should die by Sickness, or any other Accident, He might be suspected to have been accessary to his Death, he condemned himself to a voluntary Exile, and did not return 'till his Nephew had a Son to succeed him. But among all the *Grecians* where shall we find a Person comparable to *Lycurgus*?

We have made it appear that the Administration of *Cleomenes* was blemished with greater Innovations, and more flagrant Acts of Injustice. Wherefore They, who take upon them to censure the Actions both of the One and the Other, (1) charge *Agis* and *Cleomenes* with having from the Beginning been hurried on by a Spirit of Tyranny and Contention, whereas the greatest Maligners of the *Gracchi* charge Them only with an Excess of Ambition, and confess that the Heat of Contention wrought them up above their natural Temper, and like impetuous Winds drove them upon those Extrems in Government which were inexcusable. What could be more just and honourable, than their first Design, had not the Power and the Faction of the Rich, by endeavouring to abrogate that Law, engaged them Both in those fatal Quarrels; the One, for his own Preservation; the Other, to revenge his Brother's Death, who had been murdered without any Law or Justice?

From the Account therefore which has been

(1) *Plutarch* in this Place gives the Preference very much on the side of the *Gracchi*. The Faults committed by Them were the Effects of their Ambition, of an Ambition irritated by the Difficulties and Obstacles with which they encountered. Whereas Those of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* were owing to a Spirit of Tyranny, and a Delight in War; and One of These is certainly more pardonable than the Other. Tyranny tho' never so moderate is always abominable, and contrary to Law, whereas Ambition may in some Cases be good and laudable, and flow from an honest worthy Principle.

given,

given, you your self may perceive the Difference; which if it were to be pronounced of every one singly, I should affirm (1) *Tiberius* to have excelled them all in Virtue; that young *Agis* had been guilty of the fewest Miscarriages; and that in Action and Boldness *Caius* came far short of *Cleomenes*.

(1) According to *Plutarch*, *Tiberius* is preferable to them All on the Score of Virtue, and *Cleomenes* excels *Caius* in Courage and Resolution. But he leaves it to the Reader to decide which is most to be esteemed, *Caius* or *Agis*. *Agis* committed the fewest Errors, but the fewest Errors do not render a Man Superior to Him, who has more Courage and Virtue. Upon the Whole the Character of *Agis* seems preferable to That of *Caius*.



c;
ne
ed
en
in
p-

Er-
not
m,
ir-
a-
to





L. Cheron Inv.

Vol: 7: p: 143:

G. P. Guche Sculp.

41



THE LIFE OF *Demetrius Poliorcetes.*

Ingenious Men (1) have frequently compared Arts and Learning to our Natural Senses; and doubtless they were induced to do so from that Resemblance which the One hath to the Other, in distinguishing between different Objects: But still,

(1) This is a very singular, and at the same time admirable Introduction. *Plutarch* gives us the Reason which induced some of the Antients to compare our Senses to the Arts and Sciences, and shews us very plainly their Agreement and Difference. In This they agree, that both the One and the Other judge of two Contraries; but herein they differ, in that the Senses are equally affected with both those Contraries, whereas the Arts and Sciences are concerned only in That which is good. They properly examine the Good only which is their single Object, and consider the Bad by Accident, so as to know and avoid it. They

glory in such a Knowledge of the Bad which teacheth them to shun it, and search after its Contrary. *Plutarch* makes a proper Use of this Introduction for his Excuse and Justification, if among so many illustrious Persons whose Lives he has written, he slips in two such Monsters as *Demetrius* and *Anthony*. Art not only considers Evil, but represents it on Purpose to draw Good out of it. Thus both the Epick and Dramatick Poets sometimes draw the most vicious Characters, because they raise out of them as profitable Lessons, as can be supplied by Those that are most virtuous.

we must allow the Precedence to Learning and Knowledge; for that the highest Attainments of Sense arrive only to an exact distinguishing between mean and common Objects, as Black and White, Sweet and Bitter, Hot and Cold, Soft and Hard, and This too in an humble subserviency to the Understanding, to which they make Reports according to the different impressions which they receive: Whereas skilful Arts and Sciences, having the more elevated Advantages of Inquiry and Reasoning, do not only enable us to know what is most agreeable, but by a prudent Foresight to abstain from what is Evil, and prevent what may be Dangerous. Thus the wise Physician comes, by his successful Art, not only to understand how to combat a present Distemper; but to secure the Health of his Patients for the future; and the artful Musician does not only know how to avoid ungrateful Discords, but even from those disagreeing Notes to compound a wondrous Harmony.

But above All, Temperance, Justice and Prudence, the noblest of all the Moral Virtues, do not only assist us with the Knowledge of what is Honourable, Just and Good, but give us the Reverse of the contrary Vices, which ought to be avoided, as dishonest, unjust, and altogether disadvantageous to us: And even This sort of Knowledge of what is evil, is so necessary to the Prudent Conduct of human Life, that without it, there would be no Glory or Virtue in abandoning those Evils which we did not know; since otherways it must be attributed to the stupid Simplicity of ignorant Chance, and not to a wise and prudent Choice. It was for this Reason, that the ancient *Spartans* were used, in their most celebrated Festivals and Entertainments, to load their Slaves with prodigal Glasses, and then expose those drunken Miserables to the Publick View; that so the young Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the City seeing the Deformity, and Antick Dresses into which that transforming Vice degrades human Nature, might, at the Expence of those poor Wretches, imprint in their tender Minds an early Aversion to Debauchery. And tho' possibly it is but an indifferent Method, (1) not very consistent with Humanity, to chastise Vice in One, by forcing it upon Another, yet it will not be unacceptable, amidst the great variety of Examples in this Book, to expose to the View of the World, a Pair or two of noble Lives, who being advanced in the triumphant Chariot of Sovereign Authority, have, by their own inconsiderate Folly and Imprudence, tumbled from the height of Fortune into great Extremities; and thereby have made themselves great Examples of the Impotence and Danger of great Vices, even in the greatest Men. There is a strange Pleasure in Variety, but yet I must aver, That my Design is not only to divert the Fancy of the Reader, by shewing a Diversity of curious Figures, but to advantage him in the management of his own Affairs; to which nothing can contribute more, than the easie way of being wise and virtuous at the Expence of other Men's Misfortunes; for as *Ismenias*, the famous *Theban* Artist, was wont to shew his Scholars both the most excellent Masters in Musick and the veriest Bunglers in the Science, that so they might imitate the One, and despise the Other; and *Antigenidas* was used to say, that such young Gentlemen

(1) This Judgment of *Plutarch* the *Spartan* Politicks is not to be is equally fine, and certain. It is found in *Plutarch's* School: He does not corrupt Some for the Instruction of Others, but takes them Others out of it. For Goodness as he finds them corrupted and and Humanity ought to extend to defiled by Themselves, and represents them in their proper Colours, to create in his Readers an of them All is a fixed Rule in Abhorrence of their Vices. Policy. That essential Defect in

as applied themselves to the attaining Skill in Musick, would be more encouraged in their Industry by the Pleasure they received from hearing sprightly Airs and Composures, after they had been first tired with the dull Entertainments of common and unskilful Musicians; so it appears highly reasonable, that the Examples of those Lives, whose Vices and Follies have deservedly exposed them to the Censure of the whole virtuous World, should raise in us a noble Emulation to imitate the Glories of such Others, as wear the Illustrious Characters of Great and Good.

For this Reason, this Volume presents the Reader with the Lives of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and *Antoni* the *Triumvir*: Two Persons who have abundantly justified the Opinion of the Divine *Plato*, that great Minds are apt to produce great Virtues, and as great Vices: And that they may not seem unequally paired, these two great Persons were equally Amorous and Intemperate, Warlike and Munificent, Sumptuous in their way of Living, and haughty in their Enterprises and Undertakings: Nor did Fortune seem to make any great Disparity in their Destinies, for as during the whole Course of their Lives they were many times glorious and triumphant Victors, so were they also miserably vanquished; at one time they got Much, at another they were forced to abandon All: Sometimes they were tumbled down from the top of their Glory, beyond even the Hope of almost a possible Recovery; and on the sudden, beyond the Expectancy of Imagination, raised again to their former Dignity and Dominions: Nor were the Fatal Periods of their Lives without a Resemblance, the One ending his unfortunate Days in a deplorable Captivity, and the Other, to avoid that lingring Misfortune, taking Sanctuary in the cold Embraces of a voluntary Death.

Antigonus

Antigonus had by his Lady *Stratonice*, the beautiful Daughter of *Conreus*, two Sons; the One after the Name of his Uncle he called *Demetrius*, the Other carried the Name of his Grandfather *Philip*, and died young. This is the most authentick Account, although Some have reported, that *Demetrius* was not the Son of *Antigonus*, but of his Brother; and that his own Father dying young, and his Mother being afterwards married to *Antigonus*, he was pleased to adopt Him.

Demetrius, who was one of the goodliest Princes of the World, tho' he was not altogether so tall as his Father *Antigonus*, yet he was of the largest Proportion; but withal he had a Face so delicate and exact, that the most curious Painter or Graver was not able to form any *Idea*, out of his own Imagination, comparable to those Sweetnesses, which every Feature of his inimitable Face had only peculiar to it self: There was something, one knows not how to express it, so soft, and yet so fierce, that it did at the same time appear both Charmingly tender, and Imperiously astonishing, challenging both an irresistible Veneration, and a passionate Kindness; such a mixture of Majesty, Youth, Beauty and Vivacity, as gave him one of the most August and noble Airs in the World. Nor did his outward Adornments at all contradict the inward Inclinations of his Nature, for there was no Person who had so great an Art to render himself both loved and feared; for as he was the most easie and agreeable Person in his Conversation, the most splendid in his Entertainments, and in short, one who indulged himself and his Friends the utmost Liberty and Freedoms in the Enjoyment of his Pleasures, so was he, of all the Princes of his Age, the most vigilant, dexterous, and addressful in the Prosecution of his martial Affairs; so that his whole Life seemed divided between the Love

of Pleasure and Glory; herein proposing to himself the Example of *Bacchus*, the Divinity he chiefly adored, (1) equally famous for his successful Achievements in the time of Action, and his luxuriant Gaieties in the Leisure of Peace.

He was a most passionate Lover of his Father *Antigonus*, and the natural Tenderness and Deference which he had for his Mother obliged him, for her sake, to redouble that Love, which it was evident was not so much owing to Fear, or barely Duty, as the more powerful Ties of Choice and Inclination: Insomuch that it is reported, that returning one Day from hunting, he went up immediately into the Apartment of *Antigonus*, who had newly given Audience to certain foreign Embassadors, and after he had made his Obeysance to *Antigonus*, who tenderly caressed and kissed him, he reposed himself upon one of the Chairs, still holding the Javelins in his Hand, which he had brought with him from the Chace; whereupon *Antigonus*, who had just dispatched the Embassadors, commanded them to be again introduced, and shewing them his Son in that free Posture and Equipage, *You may, my Lords*, said he, *if you so please, relate to your Masters, above what you have already received in Commission, after what manner of unjealous freedom my Son and I live together*: By this Action informing them, that this was no slender Mark of the Power and Security of a Government, where there was so perfect a good Understanding between the Prince reigning and his Heir apparent; and that whereas commonly unsociable Majesty is surrounded with Armed Guards, and inward Je-

(1) This Talent of knowing how to convert War into Peace, is infinitely preferable to That of knowing how to carry on the War with Judgment and Success. The Commendation given here to *Bacchus*, may serve to explain that Line in *Horatius*,
Od. xix. Lib. 2.
Sed idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.

lousies and Distrusts, it was the Glory of the Greatest of all the Successors of the mighty *Alexander*, that He had the happiness to be so perfectly assured of his Son, that he could without difficulty permit him the freedom of coming thus armed into his Presence. And to speak the Truth, among all the Successors of *Alexander*, That of *Antigonus* was the only House, which for many Descents was exempted from blushing, with the shedding of their own Royal Blood; and whereas in this Illustrious Family, only *Philip* was guilty of the Death of his Son, all the Rest afforded frequent Examples of Fathers who brought their Children, Husbands their Wives, Children their Parents, to untimely Funerals; and for the Brothers to dispatch each other was so common, that as Mathematicians lay down to themselves certain first Principles, so This was esteemed by Them as a Maxim, to assure themselves of the Royal Diadem, by sacrificing their Brothers to the Fears and Jealousies of their proving dangerous Rivals to their Sovereignty.

But that we may the better understand the excellent Temper of the young *Demetrius*, and what just and honourable Sentiments even his early Years had for his Friendships, we must recount an odd Adventure which passed betwixt Him and *Mithridates* the Son of *Ariobarzanes*. This young Prince, who was about the same Age with *Demetrius*, was educated in the Court of *Antigonus*; and although he had the Reputation of an innocent and undesigning Person, yet could he not avoid falling into the Displeasure of *Antigonus*, who became extremely suspicious of him by reason of a Dream which he had one Night concerning him; for in his Sleep, Imagination, which then most abusively plays the Wanton with us, when she has put all our Senses, the Servants of Reason, into their

downy Manacles, presented *Antigonus* with this fantastick Scene: He thought himself in a fair and spacious Field, where he sowed Golden Seed, from whence he saw a most wondrous Crop of that shining Metal immediately to spring, and successively to grow up to that Maturity to hang its ripened Heads, ready to bow to the fatal stroak of the Sickle; that shortly after, returning in high Expectancy to reap the tempting Harvest, he found it all cut down, and nothing left but chaff and stubble; whereupon extremely discontented at the unexpected Disappointment, he thought he overheard certain Persons discoursing that it was *Mithridates*, who having reaped the Golden Harvest, was returned with it into the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Antigonus*, strangely perplexed with this Dream, related it to the Prince, and having first obliged him, by whatever was sacred, not to discover his Intention, acquainted him with the Resolution he had taken against the Life of *Mithridates*. *Demetrius* was most sensibly touched with this cruel Resolution of *Antigonus* against an Innocent Prince, his Familiar, his Confident, Companion, and Friend, not knowing how to manage himself with Innocence, betwixt his Friendship to the Prince, and his Promise to his Father; but the next Morning *Mithridates* coming according to his Custom to divert himself with *Demetrius*, he drew him aside from the Company, and without opening his Lips, with the Point of his Javelin he traced these two Words in the Dust, obliging *Mithridates* to read them, "*Fly Mithridates*;" and without further notice, putting them out with his Foot they returned to their Company, and pursued their accustom'd Divertisements and Sports. *Mithridates*, who was very apprehensive, easily perceived by this Artifice that something fatal was determined against him by *Antigonus*; and there-

fore

fore secretly taking Post that very Night, he quitted the Court, and made his Escape into *Cappadocia*; where resolving to be revenged of *Antigonus* for this intended Perfidy, he immediately raised a numerous Army, and not long after accomplished the Dream of *Antigonus*, whom, by the Force of his Armies, he despoiled of many large Provinces and Territories; and by his great Successes established the Royal House of *Pontus*: The last of his Race and Name, and the eighth in lineal Succession from him, being that unfortunate *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, whose Destiny so lately made an Addition to the Triumphs of the irresistible *Roman* Eagles.

This may serve for a Specimen of the early and uncommon Generosity and Honour of *Demetrius*; but it was not long before his boyling Youth, transported with the ardent Desire of Fame and Glory, met with nobler Occasions of signaling his Courage and his Arms; for as *Empedocles* wittily observed, that there was a continual Hostility among the four Elements which compose the Universe, every one of them still combating with his Neighbour, and all of them continually striving to enlarge the Boundaries of their Empires; so did it happen among the potent Successors of the great *Alexander*, betwixt whom, especially Those whose Dominions lay contiguous, there was an eternal Jealousie, and almost perpetual Wars: For *Antigonus*, who kept his Residence in the Metropolis of *Phrygia*, upon Advice that his Neighbour *Ptolemy*, having passed from the Island of *Cyprus*, did with a potent Army invade *Syria*, and had reduced most of the considerable Places in that Country under his Obedience, either by Force or Composition; he dispatched his Son *Demetrius*, not then much above the Age of twenty two Years, at the Head of a gallant Army, to arrest the Successes of the victorious *Ptolemy*: This was the first time that

he had appeared in Arms as an Absolute General and Commander; and our young Captain, whose Heat was something too disproportionate to his Conduct, with mighty Eagerness and hasty Marches advanced with his Army to seek his Enemy, and receiving Intelligence that *Ptolemy* was with all his Forces sat down before *Gaza*, he marched directly thither. Upon his Approach *Ptolemy* drew off his Army from the Siege, being as willing as *Demetrius* was hasty to put the matter to the fatal Decision of the Sword: But here Fortune, who was betimes resolved to shew her Instability, was not at all propitious to *Demetrius*; for after a cruel Battel, which was obstinately maintained by *Demetrius* with the loss of five thousand of the most valiant of his Soldiers, he was compelled to resign the Victory and the Field to *Ptolemy*, who took, besides eight thousand Prisoners, all his Arms, Carriages, Ammunition, and his Camp, which was exceeding rich: Nor was it at all strange, that a young Prince of so slender Experience in Military Affairs should be vanquished by an old beaten Captain in the Trade of War, and one trained up under the Discipline of *Alexander*, by whose prodigious Fortune even Victory herself seemed to be overcome, and to submit tamely to his conquering Arms. However *Ptolemy*, who was as truly Generous as he was Great, made a most honourable use of this Advantage, for he immediately returned all the rich Spoils of the Field, together with the enlarged Prisoners, with this Compliment to *Demetrius*, *That he had not combated with him for Riches, but for Glory and Empire.*

Demetrius was infinitely surprized at this unexpected Generosity, and one might see the warm Blood mount into his Face, to be a second time vanquished by this obliging Civility of *Ptolemy*, which was more insupportable than what he had suffered by his Arms; but as soon as he had a little recovered

recovered the Disorder, into which this Action had put him, *May the Gods, cried he, accord me this only Bounty, that I may not long be indebted to Ptolemy, but that it may one day come within my Power to return him the same Compliment and Favour, which he hath now put upon me.*

It might well be expected the Disgrace of this Disaster, to be defeated in the very first Enterprize of his Arms, would have cooled the Courage of our young Warrior; and possibly few Persons of his Age would have been able to support such a notable Overthrow, with so much Temper: But *Demetrius*, who was a very extraordinary Person, demeaned himself upon this Occasion even to Admiration; rather like an old Captain, who had been long acquainted with the Traverses of a capricious and inconstant Fortune, than a young and unexperienced Prince: For he set himself, with all the Application imaginable, to provide Arms and Magazines; to rally his dispersed Troops, to reinforce them with Recruits, and to exercise his new Levies in the Discipline of War; he strengthened all the considerable Garrisons, and with unwearied Diligence performed all the Duties of an expert General, and by his Example infused new Life and Courage into the Hearts of his Soldiers, insomuch that They, who before were almost ready to present the Conqueror with the Keys of those Cities which they were to defend, now put on Resolutions, not to part with an Inch of Ground, which *Ptolemy* should not purchase with the hazard of his Life. When the News of this Defeat was brought to *Antigonus*, he received it without any greater Emotion, than saying, *Ptolemy has indeed got a Victory over a Company of Youths, but ere-long he shall find that he must combat with Men*: Intimating, that shortly he would undertake the Management of the War in his own Person. But

Demetrius

Demetrius sending to beg the Favour of him, that he might once more throw the Dye of War, and command the Army against *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus*, who feared lest the Disgrace of being denied, might more abate the Courage of the Prince than the Loss of the former Battel, sent him a new Commission to execute the Office of an absolute General.

Not long after *Cilles*, *Ptolemy's* Lieutenant-General, with a powerful Army took the Field, and looking upon *Demetrius*, since his last Overthrow, as the Commander of a baffled and half-vanquished Army, he had in his Imagination driven him out of *Syria*, before he saw him: But he quickly found himself deceived; for *Demetrius* by hasty Marches came so unexpectedly upon him, that he surprized the General and his Army, making Him, and seven thousand of the principal Officers and Soldiers, Prisoners of War, before they heard of his Approach: The whole Booty of the Camp, which was very rich, fell likewise into his Hands; but it was not That which gave *Demetrius* any Satisfaction, comparable to the Pleasure which he took, when, by this Advantage, he found himself in a Condition to be generously revenged upon *Ptolemy*, for his last obliging Courtesie. However *Demetrius* in this Affair was resolved to comport himself according to his Duty, and therefore he dispatched an Express to *Antigonus* to give him an Account of his Success, and to receive his Directions and Commands, how to dispose of his Conquest. *Antigonus*, who was most surprizingly transported with Joy at this unexpected News, and not less at the Noble Inclinations of his Son, immediately returned him in Answer, that he left him intirely at his own Freedom and Discretion, to make what Use he pleased of the Victory which he had gained. *Demetrius* was even ravished with Contentment at his Commission, which

which was so agreeable to his Wishes; and therefore sending for *Cilles*, he not only gave him his Own, and the Liberty of all the Prisoners, but dismissed them loaden with magnificent Presents, and the Admiration of his Generosity; desiring *Cilles* to oblige him with carrying this Message to *Ptolemy*, That he made him that small Present, in return of the Favours he had received from him at *Gaza*.

This Defeat was so closely followed by *Demetrius*, that in a little time he obliged *Ptolemy* to abandon *Syria*; and having resettled the Affairs of that Province, he hasted to return into the Arms of his Father, who then kept his Residence at *Celene*: So soon as *Antigonus* was advertised of his Approach, he had not the Patience to attend the short Delay of his coming, but with a noble Train he immediately left the City, and went to meet the Prince; and with what Caresses and Indearments such an indulgent Father entertained a Son so hopeful and promising, is difficult to imagine, but impossible to express; but he conducted him home in great Triumph, amidst a thousand Acclamations and other signs of Joy, which seemed to be owing rather to his safe Return than the prosperous Success of his Arms.

But it was not long before *Antigonus* was forced to lose the Satisfaction of his Conversation; being obliged to send him to reduce the *Nabathæan* *Arabians*. In this Expedition *Demetrius* ran one of the greatest Hazards of his whole Life; for the wild *Arabs* decoyed him into those parched Deserts, which afforded no manner of Subsistence, nor so much as a drop of Water to refresh his Army; and having reduced him to this Extremity, they drew up their Forces to give him Battle: But when those Barbarous People observed the Courage and Resolution of the Prince, and that he was so far
from

from being in the least daunted at their Approach, that he rather seemed to fly like a hungry Lion upon the Prey, as if he had resolved to quench the Thirst of his Soldiers with the Blood of his Enemies, they were so astonished, that consulting their Fear, they thought it fitter to commit their Safety to their Heels than Hands, and therefore with great Precipitation and Disorder they quitted the Field, leaving *Demetrius* not only possessed of the Victory, but of a very considerable Booty, amongst the rest seven hundred Camels with all their Lading of Water and other Provisions, with which he refreshed his Army, and safely retreated out of that scorched Country, more barbarous than its wild Inhabitants.

Not long after, *Seleucus*, whom *Antigonus* had formerly chased out of *Babylon*, having raised all the Forces he was able, with his Army invested that mighty City, and without much Resistance made himself Master of it; and elevated with this Success, he pushed on his good Fortune, and marched against the Countries next adjacent to Mount *Caucasus*, and the neighbouring *Indies*, hoping to subdue those Regions, and range them under his Dominion and Obedience.

Demetrius being advertised of this Expedition of *Seleucus*, and conjecturing that he had left *Mesopotamia* but slenderly guarded in his Absence, he passed the *Euphrates* with his Army, with such Secrecy and Expedition, that with his whole Power he had invested *Babylon*, before they had heard of the March of his Troops. He immediately commanded an Attack to be made upon one of the Citadels, which *Seleucus* had raised for the Security of that Important Place, which was performed with that Vigour and Resolution, that he carried the Fort; but finding himself not in a Condition to master the City, he left seven thousand Men in Garrison in

D E M E T R I U S.

657

in the Fortrefs, and with the Grofs of his Army retreated homewards; but in his Return he gave his Soldiers the Liberty to live at Discretion, who in their March took from the Inhabitants of those Countries, through which they passed, whatsoever they thought fit; by which ill Treatment of those People, though he did extreamly enrich his Army, yet he impoverished his own Reputation, and lost the Affections of those Countries, who ever after, by the ill Usage they received from *Demetrius*, were the more firmly devoted to the Obedience of *Seleucus*, to whom he seemed to yield the Title of their Sovereign, by treating them like Enemies, and not his own Subjects.

In his Return having received Information that *Ptolemy* laid close Siege to the City of *Halicarnassus*, he marched directly thither, and obliging him in some Disorder to decamp, and retire from before it, he delivered that City from an imminent Danger, and by his Expedition and Success in that Action brought a great Addition to the Reputation and Glory of his Arms.

And now *Demetrius*, burning with the ardent Desire of Glory, had fixed his Designs upon an Enterprize, which was suitable both to his Own, and the Inclinations of his Father *Antigonus*; and That was to break the Yoke of Slavery, which *Cassander* and *Ptolemy* had laid upon the Neck of the little *Græcian* Commonwealths, and to render those Countries Masters of their ancient Laws of Freedom; and certainly never any Princes undertook a War more generous and brave, since the only Motive that induced them to it, was the Glory to restore their Freedom to the miserable *Græcians*, and that they undertook it wholly at their own Charges, and with the Treasure which they had recovered from barbarous Nations, they attempted the Assistance of the most civilized
and

and learned, tho' most oppressed People of the World. To effect this great Design, it was resolved, at a Council of War, that the first Attempt should be made upon the City of *Athens*, upon the Debate of which Point, when one of the great Captains gave his Opinion, that if they could make themselves Masters of that City, they ought to keep it in their own Possession, for that it would serve them as a Bridge, over which they might at Discretion pass into the rest of *Greece*. *Antigonas* most generously, as well as prudently replied, that the surest Bridge to pass over upon such an Enterprize was the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, which would most assuredly be lost, if that City were kept; and that *Athens* being one of the most celebrated Academies of the World, one ought to offer nothing prejudicial to that Repository of Arts and Learning, if, at least, they consult their own future Reputation, which must in time to come be measured by those Accounts, which from thence would be delivered to Posterity.

Demetrius, who had raised a Fund of five thousand Talents to defray the Charges of this War, having with great Application rigged and equipped a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Gallies, weighed Anchor, and the Wind standing fair, he steered a direct Course to the City of *Athens*, where at that time *Demetrius Phalereus*, who commanded as Deputy-Governour under *Cassander*, had his Residence, and had placed a strong Garrison in the Fortress of *Munychia*. Upon the twenty-fifth of *May*, the Wind freshing up into a brisk Gale, and *Demetrius*, who was resolved to improve the Favour which Fortune seemed to lend him, by the addition of Artifice, hanging out *Ptolemy's* Flag, bore directly in for *Pyraeus*. The Centinels, who descried the Fleet at some Distance, made no doubt but that they were Friends, nor was the Error discovered till it was too late. It may well
be

he imagined, that this Surprize put the Captain of *Cassander's* Gallies and the whole Garrison into such great Confusion and Disorder, as usually happen upon such Approaches of an unexpected Enemy, and while they were preparing to make the best Defence and Opposition which the suddenness of the Accident would permit, *Demetrius* who perceived the Mouth of the Haven defenceless and open, stood in directly into the Port. As soon as he was entered, mounting upon the Poop of the Admiral Gally, and making a Signal with his Hand, intimating that he had something to say, he caused a Herald with a loud Voice to make Proclamation, *That he was come thither with that mighty Fleet, by the Command of his Father, but with no other Design than what he prayed the Gods to prosper with Success proportionable to his pious Intention, which was to deliver them from the Oppression of Cassander, to chase out that armed Force, by which he held them in a cruel Subjection, and to restore to them the Freedom of their Ancient Laws and Government.*

The People hearing This, presently threw down their Arms, and clapping their Hands, with loud Acclamations of Joy they immediately intreated *Demetrius* to land, calling him their Deliverer and Benefactor, and assuring him of a welcome Entertainment. This sudden Revolt of the Citizens obliged *Phalereus*, who saw it impossible to resist, to send certain of his Officers to *Demetrius*, to request from him, upon his Surrender, honourable Usage and Protection from the Outrages of the People, who hated him for *Cassander's* sake, and whose Insolences, in this change of his Fortune, he had but too just Apprehensions to be afraid of. *Demetrius*, according to his accustomed Generosity, treated the Messengers very respectfully, and having an extraordinary Veneration for the Person and Virtue of *Phalereus*, he sent *Aristodemus*

of

of *Miletus*, a particular Favourite to *Antigonus*, back again with the Messengers, to assure *Phalereus*, and Those under his Command, not only of their Liberty but Security, and accordingly he sent them away with a sufficient Convoy to the City of *Thebes*, whither *Phalereus* desired he might have Liberty to retire.

Now though *Demetrius* had the most passionate Desire in the World to view the so much celebrated City of *Athens*, yet having solemnly vowed he would not enter into it, 'till he had given it entire Liberty from *Cassander*, he forbore it for the present, and having blocked up the Citadel of *Munychia* with a strong Rampart and deep Graff, he immediately weighed, and with his Fleet stood over for *Megara*, where also *Cassander* had a strong Garrison, which would, if not removed, prove an uneasy Neighbourhood to his newly-delivered *Athenians*.

Whilst his Army laid close Siege to *Megara*, *Demetrius* understanding that *Cratesipolis* the Widow of *Poliperchon*, a Lady whose Beauty was in greater Reputation than her Virtue, was at *Patras*, and that as he understood she had no Aversion for him, he resolved secretly to make her a Visit; and therefore leaving the Siege, he took only a few light Horsemen for his Attendants, and went in pursuit of this extravagant Amour: And that he might without Discovery, and with more Freedom, enjoy the Conversation of this celebrated Beauty, he commanded his Retinue to pitch a Tent at some Distance from *Patras*, and there to attend his Return, and so with only two or three of his most intimate Confidants he took his way towards the City; but whether by the Treachery of the Lady, or by pure Accident, is uncertain, so it happened, he fell into an Ambuscade of a Party of *Cassander's* Troops, and was so warmly pursued, that

that he was obliged by changing his Coat with one of the ordinary Soldiers, and so disguising himself, by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe to purchaſe a diſhonourable Safety, the juſt Reward of ſuch an Adventure, narrowly eſcaping being made Priſoner to his Enemies, by rendering up his Liberty to the Charms of a laſcivious Woman, and an unjuſtifiable Paſſion. The Party finding he was too well mounted to be taken, returned and ſeized his Tent, where they found many curious Preſents intended for his Miſtreſs, which made another Addition to the loſs of his Honour and Deſign, tho' a Reward proportionable to the Undertaking.

But he had better Succeſs in his Wars than in his Amours, for returning to the Camp, he ſtormed the City of *Megara*; but at the Requeſt of the *Athenians*, who had aſſiſted him in the Expedition, he would not permit his Soldiers to commit any Violences or Spoil, but having chaſed away the Garrifon, he reſtored the Inhabitants to their Freedom and Laws, as he had before treated the *Athenians*. It happened that the Philoſopher *Stilpo* did at that time reſide near *Megara*, a Perſon of great Reputation for his retired and contemplative Life; *Demetrius*, who had a great Curioſity to ſee him, ſent for him, and the Philoſopher being come into his Preſence, *Stilpo*, ſaid he, *I hope you have received no ill Uſage, nor loſt any of your Goods by my Soldiers; My Lord*, replied he ſmartly, *I have not met with any who have thought Knowledge or Virtue ſo valuable as to plunder them from me.* But it ſeems, that upon the taking of the City *Demetrius* had beſtowed Liberty upon all the Slaves, and among the reſt upon the only one belonging to the poor Philoſopher; and when he was about to take his leave, *Demetrius*, having extreamly careſſed him, *Well*, *Stilpo*, ſaid he, *I leave your City in perfect Liberty and Freedom; True, my Lord*, answered he briskly,

for you have not left us so much as one Slave belonging to us.

Demetrius returning from *Megara* immediately sat down before the Cittadel of *Munychia*, which in a few days he took by Assault, and caused the Fortifications to be demolished; and thus having accomplished his Design, at the importunity of the *Athenians*, who requested him to refresh himself after his Fatigue, he solemnly entered the City, where causing the People to be summoned, in the Audience of a numerous Assembly, he publicly acquainted them, That he did not only freely restore them to the Liberty of their former popular Government, but would prevail with his Father *Antigonus* to bestow upon them fifteen thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a proportion of Timber, as would enable them to build an hundred Gallies for the Defence of their City. In this manner did the *Athenians* recover their popular State, after they had lost it for the space of fifteen Years, from the time of the fatal War of *Lamia*, and the unlucky Battel before the City of *Cranon*; after which they had been under a seeming *Oligarchy*, but really under the single Government of *Demetrius Phalereus* the Deputy-Lieutenant of *Cassander*.

But the excessive Honours which the *Athenians* bestowed upon their Deliverers, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, drew upon them the Envy of other Princes, and an universal Jealousie among all their Neighbours; for here it was, that by the Courtship of the *Athenians*, they first took upon them the Style of Majesty and the Title of Kings, which hitherto they had declined, as only of right appertaining to the lineal Descendants of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, and which the rest of his Captains seemed to renounce. But so transported were the *Athenians*, that with a wild and extravagant Gratitude, they bestowed

bestowed upon them not only the Title of Kings, but of their *Tutelar Deities and Deliverers*; and to enhance the Compliment, by a common Vote it was decreed to change the Style of the City, which formerly named the Year according to the name of the Annual Magistrate; so that now a Priest of the two *Tutelar Divinities*, who was to be yearly chosen, was to have that Honour; and all publick Acts and Instruments were ordered to bear their *Teste* under his Name. And in the (1) *Peplum*, which was constantly born in Procession in *Minerva's* solemn Festival, they caused the Portraits of those two Princes to be drawn among the rest of their Gods, the Patrons and Guardians of their City. They also caused an Altar to be erected and consecrated in the Place where *Demetrius* first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the *Altar of the Descent of Demetrius*; they added two new Companies or Tribes to their former Number, calling them after the Names of those Princes *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*; and to the Senate, which consisted of five hundred Persons, Fifty being chosen according to the ancient Constitution out of every Tribe, they added one Hundred more out of these two new Companies. But the most sordid of all their gross and unmanly Flatteries was the Decree proposed by *Stratocles*, by which it was ordained and enacted, that the Ambassadors, which they should send to *Anti-*

(1) The *Athenians* every fifth Year celebrated the *Panathenaea*, or solemn Festival of *Minerva*, and carried in Procession the sacred Veil, or *Peplum*, whereon were figured the Actions of *Minerva*, and the Defeat of the *Titans*. They likewise represented in it those Commanders who had made themselves famous by their Exploits, From whence came the Saying

that such a one was worthy of the *Peplum*, intimating that he was a brave Soldier. This Veil was a large Robe without Sleeves, something like a Mantle. It was carried, or rather drawn by Land in a Vessel prepared for that purpose along the *Ceramicus* as far as the Temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusina*, from whence it was conducted back at last, and consecrated in the Citadel.

The LIFE of

gonus and Demetrius, should have the same Style and Character with Those they were accustomed to send to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Græcian Solemnities*, and to make Oblations for the Safety and Preservation of their City, whom they called, *The Embassadors of the Gods*.

This *Stratocles* was a Person of a most insolent and vicious Temper, one who had led a lewd and dishonest Life, not much unlike the infamous *Cleon*. He kept a Concubine named *Phylacium*, who one day bringing him a Dish of certain Heads for his Dinner; *Look*, said he disdainfully, *I must dine upon Heads, which we Statesmen play with like Tennis-balls*. At another time, when the *Athenians* received that notable Defeat near the Island of *Amorgos*, he hastened from the Encounter, and before the News could arrive at the City, having got a Chaplet of Flowers upon his Head, he came riding through the *Ceramique Street*, with such a shew of Triumph, as if the *Athenians* had been Conquerors, and instantly commanded all the People to render Thanks to the immortal Gods, and keep a solemn Festival for the happy Victory. But whilst they were in the height of their Gaiety and Joy, the Messengers, who had made no haste to bring the evil Tidings, arrived with a true Account of the Disaster, and the People being enraged that he had thus imposed upon them, he confidently came among them, and made this Jest of the Matter, *Very fine*, said he, *and I warrant you think you do bravely now to be angry, and to reproach me for having made you two Holidays*. This was the way of this Humourist *Stratocles*.

But there was still Another of these audacious Flatterers *botter even than Fire*, if I may make use of the Words of *Aristophanes*, who resolving to outshoot *Stratocles* in his own Bow, proposed, that it should

should be decreed, that whensoever *Demetrius* should honour their City with his Royal Presence, they should treat him with the same Ceremonies and Honours as they were accustomed to pay to the Deities of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and that to make his Reception more splendid and magnificent, a Talent of Silver should be issued out of the Exchequer to provide Sacrifices and Oblations, to be offered to this new Divinity.

In short, they strained their Invention to that degree of Extravagancy, that they changed the Name of the Month of * *Munychion*, and called it * January *Demetrian*; and the Festivals of *Bacchus*, which used to be celebrated upon the last Day of that Month by the Name of *Dionysia*, they altered into the Name of *Demetria*. But the incensed Deities soon manifested their Displeasure at these sacrilegious Flatteries, by divers uncommon Presages and Prodigies; for as they were in a pompous Procession carrying the *Peplum*, in which *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* were by publick Decree represented together with *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, through the high Street, a sudden and impetuous Gust of Wind tore the Banner from the top to the bottom. (1) A strange Crop of poisonous Hemlock, a Weed for-

(1) Of these three Accidents, which are represented hereby *Plutarch* as so many Prodigies, and visible Instances of divine Wrath, the First and the Last have nothing in them but what is natural. The Second indeed seems of a more extraordinary Nature, and at first View has something in it of the Prodigious, and yet if I may be allowed to speak my Thoughts, I do not see why some honest *Athenian*, a Man of Sense and Resolution, being shocked at the sacrilegious Impieties of the *Athenians*, which it was not safe for him to oppose openly, might not watch his Opportunity, and in the Night-time plant a great many Sprigs of Hemlock round those Altars of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, to make it believed that the Gods declared that the *Athenians* deserved to die for their Wickedness and Impiety, or rather that those Princes were more worthy of Death, than of the Honours that were paid them; for Hemlock was the Punishment inflicted on Criminals.

merly an absolute Foreigner to that Soil, sprung up about the Altars which they had erected to those new Divinities; they were forced also to intermit the solemn Festivals of *Bacchus*, for that the very Day on which they used to be annually celebrated, there happened such a severe and rigorous Frost, that not only the Vines and Fig-trees were all blasted, but even the green Wheat was likewise destroyed; which gave occasion to (2) *Philipides*, a declared Enemy to *Stratocles*, to lash him in these Verses.

*The Man of whom our blasted Vines complain,
And the Torn Ensign, which the Gods disdain,
Who did to Mortals Divine Honours pay,
'Twas He who hurt us, not an innocent Play.*

This *Philipides* was a Person for whom King *Lyfimachus* had such an extraordinary Value, that for His sake he conferred many Royal Favours upon the *Athenians*, and had even such a superstitious Veneration for him, that when he was about to undertake any Affair of great Importance, he ever consulted first with *Philipides*, and was used to say, that he always took his very Presence for a lucky Omen in his Enterprizes. Nor was it altogether without Reason that he thus esteemed him, for *Philipides* was a Person of an honest and divertive Conversation, wholly free from the nauseous Humours of the servile and officious Courtiers; and as his Humour was easie and innocent, so was it also gay and pleasant, as may appear by this Passage. *Lyfimachus* upon a certain time being extremely obliged with his

(1) He was an *Athenian*, Brother of *Morsimus*, and a Poet in the new Comedy. He was Author of four and fifty Plays. This single Fragment is a Specimen of his Genius, and shews *Lyfimachus*, who had so great an Opinion of him, was a Prince of an exquisite Taste and Judgment,

diverting Company, demanded of him, *Philipides*, said he, *what will you that I should gratifie you withal, and I will do it? With what your Majesty pleases*, replied he, *provided you do not load me with the Honour of being of your Privy-Council*. Such a Person was honest *Philipides*, and I therefore thought it not amiss to prefer the innocent Comedian, before this impious haranguing Flatterer *Stratocles*.

But That which exceeds all other Follies and Flatteries was That of *Dromoclides* of *Sphettus*, who when there was a Debate concerning sending to the *Delphian* Oracle to enquire the lucky Minute for the Consecration of certain Bucklers, he propounded in the Assembly, that they should rather send to consult the Oracle of *Demetrius*; and for the horrible Rarity of the Propositions, I will repeat the very Words of the Decretal Order, which was in these Terms. *May it be happy and propitious! The People of Athens have decreed and ordained, that a fit Person shall be chosen among the Athenian Citizens, who shall be deputed to be sent to our great Deliverer, and after he hath duly performed the just Rites and Sacrifices, shall enquire of him, in what most religious and decent manner he will please to direct the Consecration of the Bucklers, and according to the Answer which his Oracleship shall be pleased to return, the People shall be obliged to put it in speedy Execution*. Thus did these officious Flatterers, with their impious Breath, blow up poor *Demetrius*, already crazed with his Successes and Honours, almost into a perfect Pleuresie and Madness.

Demetrius, who was naturally amorous, in this Interval of Leisure from his Martial Affairs, became passionately in Love with a fair *Athenian* Lady, whose Name was *Euridice*: She was descended of the ancient House of *Miltiades*, that celebrated Captain, and had been married very young to *Opheltas* Prince of *Cyrene*, but having the Misfortune

to be divorced from him by his untimely Death, she was not able to brook that melancholy Court, but retired her self to *Athens*, whence *Demetrius*, who was as fortunate at storming the tender Hearts of fair Ladies, as the Walls of the most obstinate Cities, after a short Siege of Courtship overcame the Difficulties and Aversions, with which she defended her self against second Nuptials, and was married to her. The *Athenians* took this Marriage for an extraordinary Favour done to their City of which the Lady was a Native, when-as in Truth it was the effect of a natural Propensity which he had to Variety, for he had many Wives at the same time; but among them all *Philla* was the Lady to whom he paid the most Respect and Deference; she was the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the Widow of *Craterus*, who while he lived was of all the Successors of *Alexander* the most beloved, and at his Death the most universally lamented by the *Macedonians*: And for these Reasons *Antigonus* had obliged him to marry her, notwithstanding the Disparity of their Years, *Demetrius* being much younger than that Princess; and when upon that Account he made some Difficulty of complying with his Father's Pleasure, *Antigonus* whispered him softly in his Ear this Couplet, alluding to some Verses in *Euripides*:

*Let not her Years your Love abate,
But marry where's the best Estate.*

But as it frequently happens in such unequal Matches, how much Respect and Deference soever *Demetrius* paid to her Birth, Quality and Fortune, *Philla* was never intirely possessed of his Heart: for besides several other Ladies whom he married, he had always many Mistresses, and was a Prince that surpassed all others of his time, in abandoning himself

to the infamous Slavery of his Passions, and unbounded Pleasures.

But he was not so absolutely charmed with the soft Lute of *Venus*, but that he had still an Ear for the shrill Notes of *Bellona's* Trumpet; and there happening at this time a new Contest with *Ptolemy*, concerning the Island of *Cyprus*, *Antigonus* sent for him to command his Troops in that Expedition. His Unwillingness to abandon the glorious Enterprize of the Deliverance of *Greece*, which he had so fortunately begun, did for some time struggle with his Compliance to the King's Command; and seeing that he could not at present effect his Design by the Force of his Arms, he attempted to accomplish it by Cunning and Artifice: He sent therefore to *Cleonides*, *Ptolemy's* Governor in *Sicily* and *Corinth*, and privately made him very advantageous Offers, if he would only retire from those Places, and leave them at entire Liberty: But *Cleonides* disdainfully rejecting all sorts of Conditions, which might blemish his Reputation with the Infamy of so base a Treachery to his Master, he was for that time forced to quit the Prosecution of his Designs in Favour of the *Græcians*, and to apply himself to the War with *Ptolemy*: He therefore embarked his Troops, and with a mighty Navy sailed directly to the Island of *Cyprus*, where immediately upon his Arrival he fell upon *Menelaus* the Brother of *Ptolemy*, and gave him a notable Defeat. The News of this Affront so iraged *Ptolemy*, that he came in Person with all his Naval Power and Land-Forces, to revenge the Disgrace of his Brother's Overthrow.

When both these Fleets were come within sight, *Ptolemy* having commanded His to drop their Anchors, he sent this insolent Message to *Demetrius*, That if he consulted his Safety or Honour, he would
take

take this timely Advice, and instantly retire, before his whole Fleet and Land-Forces were come up, for that otherwise he would compel him to do it with Shame and Ignominy. Demetrius, not in the least shocked by these impotent Menaces, returned him an Answer more civil in Appearance, but not less high and daring. You may acquaint Ptolemy, said he to the Messengers, that I will do him the Favour to permit him to escape, if he will oblige himself upon his Honour to withdraw his Garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth, and make those Cities Possessors of their own Freedom.

The Contest between these two potent Princes, and the Issue of this War was such, as had not only a single Influence upon themselves, but must draw after it the Interests of many other Princes and Sovereigns; for it was apparent that He upon whom Victory should incline to bestow her Laurels, would thereby become not only Master of the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Syria, but be undoubtedly the most potent and formidable Monarch of all the Successors of Alexander.

The Fleets had not long lain within View of one another, but that Ptolemy resolving to put it to the Issue of a Combat, and in order thereunto, having commanded Menelaus, who lay in the Port of Salamine with sixty Gallies, that in the heat of the Engagement he should attack the Rear of Demetrius's Fleet, he instantly weighed, and with all the Force of Sails and Oars he assailed Demetrius with a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, excellently well-manned and appointed for the Combat. But Demetrius, who apprehended his Design, commanded ten of his Gallies to row up to the very Mouth of the Haven of Salamine, and there to place themselves so advantageously, that Menelaus could neither come out with his Fleet, nor be able to combat them, but upon unequal Numbers; and after
This,

This, having ranged his Land-Army upon the Shoar, he advanced to meet *Ptolemy* with one hundred and eighty Gallies; and attacked him with such a furious Impetuosity, that in a little time he forced him, with only eight of the lightest and most nimble Sailors in his Fleet, to save himself by Flight; leaving *Demetrius* in so entire a Possession of the Victory, that seventy of his stoutest Gallies were taken, and the rest sunk, together with all the Seamen, Soldiers, Victuallers, and the Gallions, which carried his Women, Friends, Officers, and principal Servants, his Treasure, and all the Engines and Ammunition which he had provided for the War.

Among the Number of Those whom Fortune by that Victory made Prisoners to *Demetrius*, the celebrated *Lamia* chanced to be One; a Lady, whose Beauty, admirable Skill upon the Lute, and charming Voice had rendered her extremely admired; and after she began to entertain much Courtship, she still increased in that infamous kind of Fame; and although she was now past the Meridian Glories of her Beauty, yet had she something so agreeable in her Humour and Conversation, that *Demetrius* quickly exchanged his Liberty with her, and became a Prisoner to her Charms, to that degree, as that it was said, *All other Ladies were amorous of Demetrius, but Demetrius was amorous only of Lamia.*

After the gaining of this signal Victory, *Demetrius* came before *Salamine*; and *Menelaus*, upon his first Approach, being unable to make any considerable Resistance, surrendered himself and all his Fleet, together with twelve hundred Horse, and twelve thousand Foot, with all their Arms and Ammunition: But That which added to the Glory of this Victory, was the generous Deportment of *Demetrius* to the Vanquished; for after he had
given

given honourable Funerals to the Dead, he bestowed Liberty upon the Living; and that he might not forget his flattering *Athenians*, he sent Them, as a Present, compleat Arms for twelve hundred Men.

To carry this happy News, *Aristodemus* of *Miletus*, the most affected Flatterer belonging to the Court, was dispatched to *Antigonus*; and He, to enhance the welcome Message, was resolved to raise the Expectation to the highest Pitch, by delaying his Satisfaction to the latest Moment: He therefore commanded the Frigate, which transported him, to come to an Anchor in the Road; and having ordered all the Ship's-Crew to remain aboard, he took the Long-Boat, and was set ashore Alone: One may well imagine the King was in great Pain to know the Issue of this Encounter, and when he was informed, that *Aristodemus* was coming all alone, it put him into strange Inquietudes and Disorders, lest he should be charged with some fatal Tidings; his Impatience growing importunate, he sent one Messenger after another, to enquire what News; but *Aristodemus*, walking very gravely, and with a settled Countenance, without making any Answer, still marched on softly towards the Palace: *Antigonus*, who could not divine the meaning of this Delay, and no longer able to support the Eagerness of his Expectations, descended to the Gate of the Palace, followed by a Train of inquisitive Courtiers, and trembling, betwixt the uneasy Combat of the Passions of Hope and Fear, he advanced to meet this Fantastick Envoy; as soon as *Aristodemus* saw him within hearing, stretching out his Hands, he accosted him with this loud Exclamation, *Royal Sir*, said he, *Rejoyce! We have gloriously vanquished Ptolemy, We are absolute Masters of Cyprus, and have taken above sixteen thousand Prisoners.* To which *Antigonus* coldly replied,

Welcome

Welcome Aristodemus, with your good News; but truly since you have made us purchase it at so enhaunced a Price of Expectation, you must e'en be content to be paid in your own Coin, and languish in the long Expectancy of a slow Reward.

The Courtiers, who were ecstasied with this good News, taking a sudden Limit from this Appellation of *Aristodemus*, in great Pomp proclaimed *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* Kings, and immediately placed a Diadem upon the Head of *Antigonus*, who sent a rich Crown also to his Son; the Superscription of the Letter which accompanied it, being, *To the most excellent Majesty of King Demetrius.*

This News arriving in *Ægypt*, that they might not seem to be dejected with the late Defeat, the *Ægyptians* also took Occasion to bestow the Style of King upon *Ptolemy*; and the rest of the Successors of *Alexander*, resolving not to be behind-hand with them, assumed also the Title of Kings: *Lysimachus* taking at the same time the Royal Diadem, and *Seleucus*, who had before received it in all Addresses from the barbarous Nations, also took it upon him in all the Applications which were made unto him from the *Græcians*: As for *Cassander*, he still retained his ancient Style in all his Letters and publick Instruments, by leaving Others, who addressed themselves unto him, at Liberty, whether they would give him the Title of King, or wholly omit it.

But this new Addition of Honour was not confined only to the Name of King, or the Royal Ornaments, but seemed to inspire them with such haughty Sentiments, as in a manner changed their very Natures, and way of Living: For now they abandoned the former Familiarities towards their Friends, and in their very Mein, Gate, Salutations, and other Departments, began to affect a supercilious State, and disagreeable Reservedness,

ness, and affectation of Grandeur; appearing rather like formal Actors upon a Theater, than those easy, free, and obliging Persons they were before; and to render themselves more feared, they put on with the Royal Habit, a certain Cruelty to their Subjects, to whom the sight of Punishments had formerly been very rare and unfrequent; but throwing away the Vizor of Popularity, they now openly avowed themselves absolute Sovereigns. This Fear of their Displeasure begot the unmanly Vice of Flattery among their Followers, the whole Court striving who should be most forward in these obsequious and mean Compliances with these Humours, which, upon this Change, they had taken up.

Antigonus extremely elevated with the Success of his Arms at *Cyprus*, under the Conduct of *Demetrius*, resolved to push on his good Fortune, and in Person to lead the whole Power of his Empire against King *Ptolemy* by Land, whilst *Demetrius*, as Admiral of the Naval Forces, should coast along the Shoar, to assist him by Sea, as occasion should require. In this Expedition it happened, that one *Medius*, a great Captain in the Army, had this odd presaging Dream, he thought he saw *Antigonus* and his whole Army running, as if it had been a Race; that at the first jumping off the Score, they ran the Heat with great Vigour and Swift-ness; but that towards the end of the Career, he saw *Antigonus* come lagging up tired, and almost breathless, and quite spent; and the Event proved accordingly; for *Antigonus* met with many Difficulties and Extremities by Land; and *Demetrius* was so shattered by foul Weather at Sea, that he lost divers of his best Ships, Himself very narrowly escaping a Shipwreck; so that all the great Expectations of this Campaign came just to nothing, they being obliged to return home with-
out

D E M E T R I U S.

1751

out having got any thing besides Losses and Disappointments.

Antigonus, though now he was near the eightieth Year of his Age, seemed incapable of the Fatigues of War by the Bulk of his Body, rather than by his Age, which was very green and vigorous at those Years; he therefore committed the Management of his greatest Affairs unto the Prince, whose Conduct was very admirably dextrous in Military Matters; and the old King was induced to bear with those excessive Liberties, wherein he drowned himself in the time of Peace, because he observed him to be the most temperate and abstemious Person in the World in the time of War and Action.

It happened, that returning one Day from his Field-Exercises, and coming to the King as his Custom was, to kiss him, and doing it with a little more than usual Warmness, *What! I warrant you*, *Demetrius*, said the King smiling, *you fancied you were at the Lips of your Mistress Lamia*: For She, of all his Women, had the most entire Possession of his Heart. At another time, having been for several Days lost in a Debauch among his Companions, and coming into the Presence, he desired *Antigonus* that his Majesty would excuse him that he had not in so long time paid his Duty to him; the Reason of which was that he had been seized with so violent a Defluxion of Rheum, that he had been obliged to keep his Chamber. *Well!* replied the old King, looking very pleasantly, *I was informed so by your Servants, but pray, Demetrius, tell me, did the Defluxion come from Cnidos or Thassos?* alluding to the rich Wines that were brought from those Places. And not long after, *Demetrius* having given it out, that he was indisposed, *Antigonus* had the Curiosity to make him a Visit; and coming to his Apartment, out bolts a sprightly young Minion: The King entring, took

a Seat by his Bed-side, and taking hold of his Hand, began to feel his Pulse: *Demetrius*, who was at a loss what Excuse to make, told him that he was now much better than he had been, and that he hoped his Fever had left him. *Yes*, replied the King very quick, *I verily believe it has; for I just now met it at your Chamber-Door.* However, *Antigonus* did more easily connive at these Vices, in regard of the other excellent Qualities whereof he was possessed; and indeed, this was the true Temper of this Prince, that to whatever he addicted himself, whether good or bad, he resigned himself wholly to it for that time; and not after the Custom of the *Scythians*, who, in the midst of their Cups, were wont to call for their Arms, as it were to awaken their Courage, ready to fall into a Lethargy with their plentiful Glasses. As for *Demetrius*, if he devoted himself to his Pleasures and Luxury, he abandoned himself entirely to them; and if the Trumpet sounded to Horse, he was no less assiduous in the Fatigues of War: he was, beyond all doubt, a very great Captain, and most notably dextrous, not only in his Conduct, but in forming his Levies, and raising an Army, and in making all the necessary Preparations of Stores and Magazines, the very Muscles and Nerves of War, which he ever took care to provide in great Abundance.

His great Divertisement was in building Gallies, and inventing Engines of War; and having naturally a Genius addicted to Mechanicks, he did not apply it to the making of frivolous and unuseful Toys, after the Humour of some other Princes, who spent their vacant Hours in Painting, Musick, or Turning; as (1) *Æropus* King of *Macedon*, who

(1) This was *Æropus* II. the fifteenth King of *Macedon*, of the Race of the *Temenides*. He did not spend all his time in making

Lamps and Tablets, for he murdered his Ward *Orestes* the Brother of *Archelaus* the Second, and seized on the Kingdom.

took great Pleasure in making little Lamps and Tablets; or as *Ptolomæus Philometor*, whose Diversion was to cultivate *Hellebore*, *Henbane*, *Hemlock*, *Aconite*, *Dorichnium*, and other noxious Plants, which he used to sow Himself in the Royal Gardens, and with great Diligence to gather the Seeds in their Season, the Fruits and Juices, and to try Experiments of their Nature, Qualities and Virtues. The *Parthian* Kings employed themselves something better becoming their Dignity and Martial Humour; for their Diversion was to sharpen the Points of their Arrows, Darts, and Javelins. But the Mechanick Inventions of *Demetrius*, though designed for Use and Service, had something noble and magnificent withal; and the wondrous Contrivance of them was so uncommon, that one might easily read the Character of a great Mind and extraordinary Genius in the Princely Artifice; they were such as by their magnificent and costly Structure, bespoke themselves the Products of a Royal Engineer, insomuch that they did not less surprize his Friends with their stupendious Magnificence, than they astonished his Enemies with their dreadful Beauty; and it is no less pleasant than true, what is related of them, that the very Enemies against Whom they were to be employed for their Destruction, could not forbear running to gaze with Admiration upon his Gallies of five and six Ranges of Oars, as they passed near their Coasts; and the Inhabitants of those Cities which were to be besieged, and stormed by those terrible Engines, thronged to the Walls which they were about to batter, to satisfy their Curiosity with the agreeable Prospect of those stately Machines, which from their use were called *Helepoles*, or *Takers of Cities*. And even *Lysimachus*, of all the Kings of his time the greatest Enemy of *Demetrius*, coming to raise the Siege of

Solos in *Cilicia*, sent to desire the Permission to see his Gallies, and admirable Engines, which *Demetrius* easily accorded him; and having gratified his Curiosity by a full View of them, struck at once with Fear and Admiration, he quitted the Place and his Design of relieving the besieged City. The *Rhodians* also, whom he had long besieged, and at last reduced to Composition, made their humble Request, that he would bestow some one of these Engines upon Them, which they might preserve as a Monument of His Puissance, and Their brave Resistance.

The Quarrel betwixt Him and the *Rhodians*, was upon the occasion of their being Allies to *Ptolemy*, whom they had assisted against *Demetrius*; and in the Siege the greatest of all the Engines was planted against their Walls; (1) the Basis of it was exactly square, each side containing twenty four Yards; the height of it was thirty three Yards, still from the Basis to the Top growing narrower, something like a Cone or Pyramid: within it were several Apartments or Chambers, which were to be filled with armed Men, and in every Story or Apartment the Front towards the Enemy had Windows which were to be opened, in order to their discharging their Shot and Arrows against the Besieged; but That which was

(1) *Diodorus Siculus*, who has given us a more exact Description of this Machine in his twentieth Book, saith, that the Sides were forty five Cubits broad, and ninety high; that it had nine Stories, and was supported by four great Wheels eight Cubits high. That within it were battering Rams and other Instruments for the Discharge of missive Weapons. That such as could discharge Stones of four hundred Pound Weight were placed in the lower Stories; That the middle Stories were furnished with such as were contrived to carry Darts of the largest Make, and the Uppermost were for Those of the least Size, and Showers of all kinds of Stones; that two hundred Men were posted in it to work it; so that this Engine cleared the Walls of the Enemy, at the same time that it was sapping and overthrowing it with its battering Rams, &c.

most admirable, was, that notwithstanding the vast Bigness of the Engine, yet when it was moved, it never so much as once tottered, but went upon the Basis with an equal Poise, making a most dreadful Noise as it was forced along, and thereby gave both Wonder and Terror to the Spectators.

Whilst *Demetrius* was at this Siege, there were brought to him (1) from *Cyprus* two compleat Cuirasses of polished Steel, weighing each of them no more than forty Pounds; and *Zoilus*, who had forged them, to shew the Excellence of their Temper, desired that one of them might be tried with an Arrow shot out of one of the Engines at no greater Distance than six and twenty Yards, and upon the Experiment, it was found, that though the Dart did exactly hit the Cuirass, yet it made no greater Impression, than such a slight Scratch as might be made with the Point of a Style or Graver. *Demetrius*, who was wonderfully delighted with the Workmanship, having well rewarded the Artificer, Himself wore One of them in all his Encounters, and bestowed the Other upon *Alcimus* the *Epirot*, one of the most robust and gallant Captains in his Army: This *Alcimus* was one of the strongest Men in the World; for his compleat Armour weighed sixscore Pound, whereas the Arms of the ablest of the other Soldiers rarely exceeded half that Weight; but notwithstanding all his Strength and Courage, no Armour was Proof against his ill Destiny; for in a furious Attack, whilst he was gallantly fighting, and encouraging his Soldiers by his Example, he was slain near the Theatre during this Siege.

(1) The Isle of *Cyprus* abounded in that sort of Metal, of which they made excellent Armour, and were famous for it even before the Siege of *Troy*; for *Homer* tells us that *Agamemnon* put on a Cuirass sent him as a Present from *Cyniras* King of *Cyprus*, as the Reader may find in the Beginning of the eleventh *Iliad*.

The *Rhodians* all the time made a brave Defence, insomuch that *Demetrius* evidently saw he was not to master them without great Difficulty and Hazard; nevertheless he persisted in his Resolution to try the last Extremities: And the rather, because that the *Rhodians* having taken a Vessel in which there was embarked certain rich Hangings for his Pavilion, Apparel, and other Necessaries, as also the Letters from the Princess *Philla*, who had sent them to him, they had undecently sent Them together with the Ship to *Ptolemy*; being herein far from imitating the honourable Example of the *Athenians*, who having surprized an Express sent from King *Philip* their Enemy, they opened all the Letters he was charged with, excepting only Those directed to Queen *Olympias*, which with great Civility they sent unopened to her. Notwithstanding this Provocation, *Demetrius*, into whose Power it shortly after came to have repaid the Affront, would not suffer himself to be transported with Revenge, so as to do a dishonourable Action Himself, which he condemned in Them. It happened at that time that the celebrated Painter *Protogenes* of *Caunus* was painting the History of the Hero (1) *Jalyfus*, and the Piece was almost finished, when *Demetrius* having made himself Master of the Suburb where the Painter was working at it, laid his Hands upon it. Immediately the *Rhodians* sent a Herald to *Demetrius*, requesting him to spare so valuable a Performance, and not suffer any Injury to be done

(1) This *Jalyfus* was the Son of the Hero *Ochimus*, the Son of the *Sun*. *Protogenes* was that time painting some Exploit of this *Jalyfus*, and whilst he was working at it, he lived upon boiled Rabbits, which at once satisfied his Hunger, and his Thirst; so cautious was he not to suffer too

high a Diet to blunt the Delicacy of his Taste and Fancy. *Pliny* adds, that he laid on four Lays of Colours to preserve the Piece from the Injury of Time, and that the Care *Demetrius* took for the Preservation of it, made him slip his Opportunity, and so he lost the Victory. *Lib. xxxv. c. 10.*

unto it. *Demetrius* returned for Answer, that he would sooner set Fire to all the Statues and Pourtraitures of his Father, than suffer the least Injury to be done to such a curious Piece of laborious Skill and Beauty. For it is said, that *Protogenes* was seven Years about it, and that when *Apelles* first saw it, he was so surprized, that unable to stifle his Admiration, he stood mute, struck at once with Wonder, and a little Emulation at the Beauty of the Work; but recovering his Transport and his Tongue, *A most admirable and marvellous Piece!* said he; but yet here want some of the Sweetness, and soft Touches of My Pencil, which will render my Paintings immortal. This curious Piece, among many others, was afterwards carried to Rome, (1) where it was consumed by an accidental Fire in that City.

Whilst *Demetrius* thus fruitlessly maintained the Siege, and the *Rhodians* no less obstinately defended their City, the *Athenian* Ambassadors came luckily to rescue his Reputation, by proposing an Accommodation between them, that so *Demetrius* might be at Liberty to assist Them against *Cassander*, who had taken this Opportunity to besiege the City of *Athens*: In short, a Peace was concluded, by which the *Rhodians* were obliged to assist *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all their Enemies, excepting *Ptolemy* the King of *Egypt*; and so soon as the Ratifications were exchanged, *Demetrius* with a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies, and a great Land-Army, sailed directly to *Athens*, where he not only dislodged *Cassander*, but falling upon his Rear, very much incommoded his Retreat, and pursuing him to the Straits of *Thermo-*

(1) It was removed to Rome, untouched in *Pliny's* Time. *Falsus, qui est Roma, dicatus in templo Pacis.*

pyle, obliged him there to a Battel, which ended in the total Overthrow of *Cassander's* Army.

After this Victory, he took in the City of *Hera-clea*, the Citizens voluntarily opening their Gates to receive the Conqueror; and the Garrison, consisting of six thousand *Macedonians*, revolted to him, and took Service under his victorious Ensigns. In his Return, having given Liberty to all the *Græcians* on this side the Straits of *Thermopyle*, made an Alliance with the *Bæotians*, and taken in the Cities of *Cenchrees*, *Phyle*, and *Panacton*, in which *Cassander* had placed strong Garrisons to awe the Country into Obedience, he bestowed them upon the *Atbenians*; and They, in Requital, though they had before been so profuse in conferring Honours upon him, that one would have thought they had exhausted all the store of Invention; yet strained and put their Wits upon the Rack, to extort from them new-devised Honours and Flatteries. They ordered him a Lodging behind *Minerva's* Temple, in the Apartment of the Virgins, the vowed Votaries of that Goddess; upon which Occasion some of the Wits exercised their Talent, and took the Liberty to say, *That Minerva had got a dangerous Inmate, and that it was not much to the Reputation of her Virgins Chastity to keep Company with Demetrius, who was not so over-strait-laced in that sort of Virtue; though it seems Antigonus had not given him the Example; for of Him it is reported, that one time, observing that his other Son Philip had Lodgings appointed in a House where there were three pretty young Ladies, the King, without taking any Notice to his Son, sent for the Officer who had taken up the Lodgings; to whom he said, Pray, good Sir, oblige me with removing my Son out of those little pent Lodgings; for I do not care to have these young People crowded One upon Another.*

As

As for *Demetrius*, he was so far from shewing any Reverence to the Goddess, with whom he had taken up his Quarters, and whose younger Brother he had the Vanity to have himself styled, and upon that Score might have paid her some little decent Respect, that he gave himself up to the most infamous Liberties; he debauched the young Men and Women of *Athens*, to that degree, as is as little to the Reputation of a modest Pen to relate, as it was dishonourable to the City; which may for ever blush at those lascivious Liberties, in which this dissolute Prince, by their servile Compliances, was not only permitted, but even tempted to debase both Theirs, and his own Honour and Glory; insomuch that his Court seemed innocent, when he had only *Chryseis*, *Lamia*, *Dema*, *Anticyra*, and some other Ladies of common ill Fame, for the Companions of his Revels.

But among such a heap of Vice, there was found one Jewel of severe Virtue and Chastity, whose Name deserves to be transmitted to Posterity in the Records of Honour, the young *Damocles*; whose surpassing Beauty gave him the particular Title of the beautiful *Damocles*. *Demetrius* had essayed all the ways of passionate Courtship, Gifts, Threatnings, and Flatteries, in order to obtain his Desires, but All in vain. Nay, he was so fearful of coming in his way, that he absented himself from the *Gymnasium*, and all other Places of publick Exercise, and went no where abroad but to a private Bagnio. *Demetrius*, who had ordered him to be watched, timed it so well, that he caught him alone in one of the bathing Rooms. In this Distress, *Damocles* taking Counsel from Despair, hastily threw off the Cover of the Cauldron where the Water was boyling for the Service of the Bath, and leaping in over Head and Ears, was stifled in a Moment. Thus fell the unhappy Youth, deserving of a bet-

ter Fate, but with Sentiments truly great and noble, (1) worthy his Country, and his most exquisite Beauty. In This he was much unlike *Cleonetus* the Son of *Cleomedon*, who made Application to him, that by His Intercession the Fine of fifty Talents, in which his Father had been condemned by the People of *Athens*, might be remitted; *Demetrius* gave him Letters to that Effect; which, when he had produced at a Common Council, it did not only diminish his Reputation, but strangely shocked the Citizens; who though in Compliance with the Letters they remitted the Fine, yet they made an Edict, prohibiting any Citizen for the future to bring Letters of the like Tenor from *Demetrius*; but being informed, that *Demetrius*, to whom an Account of it was carried, resented it as an high Indignity and Affront, that he gave out some passionate and menacing Words about it, these trembling Flatterers did not only rescind and vacate the former Order, but inhumanly put some of the Proposers and Advisers of it to Death, and banished Others; and to make up the Matter, it was in a full Assembly enacted and decreed, *That whatsoever King Demetrius should in time to come ordain, should be esteemed sacred towards the Gods, and inviolable to Men.* Upon which, when some of the best of the Citizens had said, That certainly *Stratocles* must be stark mad, and out of his Wits, to make such a horrid and impious Decree, (2) *Demochares* the *Laconian*

(1) This Reflection does an Honour to *Greece*, and is sufficient to efface the Reproach that has been cast upon her. Chastity and Sobriety are worthy of her, and so they are of Beauty, which is not bestowed on any one to be sullied and dishonoured by Vice.

(2) This is the *Demochares* of whom Mention is made in the

Fragments of *Polybius*, who severely reproves *Timans* for the bitter Calumnies he had vomited out against him. But this *Demochares* was not of *Laconia*, but *Athens*, being *Demosthenes*'s own Nephew. The Text therefore ought to be amended; instead of *Λακωνεύς*, we must read *Αθηναίου*, or *Αθηναίου*, of *Leuconia*, which belonged

conian replied, *That if Stratocles had not been so mad, all the World must conclude him out of his Wits;* thereby intimating what an advantageous Trade he made of this impious and servile Flattery: But *Demochares* paid dearly for his Wit; for being accused before the criminal Judges, they sentenced him to Banishment. This was the natural Result of their new-regained Liberty, and the true Character of the Temper of a Popular State, which is only a Liberty for all Persons to be Slaves to the wild, arbitrary, and extravagant Humours of a giddy, rash, and inconstant Multitude of Fools, managed by a Set of more cunning Knaves.

After This, *Demetrius* marched with his Forces into *Peloponnesus*, where the Terror of his Victories had so benumbed the Hearts and Hands of his Enemies, that not One of them had the Courage to oppose the Torrent of his Arms; but before his Approach abandoned all the Towns and Garrisons which they were possessed of; so that he reduced all *Arcadia* under his Obedience, except the Cities of *Mantineia* and *Argos*; he also by Composition had *Sicyon* and *Corinth* surrendered unto him, paying to the respective Garrisons an hundred Talents.

About this time it happened that the solemn Festivals of *Juno* were to be celebrated with the accustomed Sports at *Argos*; and *Demetrius*, who was resolved, by assisting at them, to render the Solemnity more splendid and magnificent, fell in Love

longed to the Tribe of *Leontis*. *Plutarch* Himself leads us to this Correction. For in the Life of *Demosthenes*, which is among his petty Treatises, he tells us *Demosthenes* had a Sister, who was married to *Laches* the *Leuconian*, by whom she had *Demochares*. He saith farther that he was a brave Soldier, having served with Ho-

nour; that he came behind none of the Orators in the Art of conducting the People by his political Discourses; and that he had a Statue erected to him in the *Prytaneum* with this singular Distinction, that the Sword was girt on over his Vest, having in that manner declaimed against *Antipater*.

with,

with, and married the fair *Deidamia*, the Daughter of *Eacus*, King of the *Molossians*, and Sister to *Pyrrhus*; which Nuptials did not a little contribute to the heightning of those Solemnities and Entertainments dedicated to *Juno*, the Goddess of Marriages: At the same time also, he prevailed with the *Sicyonians* to change the Situation of their City, to a Place far more pleasant and commodious, where they built a new one, and complimented him with giving it the Name of *Demetriada*; and in Conclusion, his Affairs being conducted to this prosperous Issue, he summoned a general Assembly of the *Græcians* to meet him at the *Isthmus* in *Peloponnesus*; where, by an extraordinary Concourse of People, he was with an unanimous Consent proclaimed Captain-General of the *Greeks*; as before Him *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great had been: And being blown up with the fresh Gales of his prosperous Fortune, he had the Vanity to fancy Himself not only equal, but superior to those two Famous and Renowned Kings: In This indeed he out-did even *Alexander* Himself, who would never take upon him the Title of King of Kings, as did *Demetrius*, though many Kings paid Homage to him; nor did he ever go about to lessen, or divest any of Them who were his Tributaries, of the Style of Kings; whereas *Demetrius* used to ridicule all Those who gave the Title of Kings to any of the Successors of *Alexander*, except his Father and Himself; and in his Entertainments, it was a common Diversion with him, after his Own and his Father's had passed round by the Name of Kings, to drink the Health of *Seleucus*, with the Title of Great Master of the Elephants; of *Ptolemy*, by the Name of Lord High-Admiral; of *Lyfimachus*, with the Addition of Lord-Treasurer; and of *Agathocles*, by the Name of Governour of *Sicily* and the Islands. This vain Humour being reported

D E M E T R I U S.

189

to these Princes, gave None of them any other Emotion, than that of deriding the insolent Extravagancies of *Demetrius*; only *Lyfimachus* resented it with deep Indignation, it being in effect to reproach Him, as being an Eunuch; Such being in those Days usually deputed to the Office of Treasurers; which made *Lyfimachus*, who mortally hated him for this Indignity and Affront, to reproach him with his Amours to *Lamia*; of whom he said, *it was the first time he ever saw (1) a Miss act on the Theater.* Which, when it was told *Demetrius*, *Well!* said he, *I would have Lyfimachus know, that my Miss is more honest and virtuous than his Penelope.*

But to proceed: *Demetrius* being about to return to *Athens*, signified by his Letters to the City, that he had a Desire to be enrolled in the Fraternity of the Priests of *Ceres*, and his Request was, That, without attending the time commonly allotted from the Initials, to the Confirmation of Those admitted into that Order, he might at once be admitted to the usual Ceremonies and Mysteries which were to be performed upon that Occasion: Now this was an Innovation absolutely contrary to the Rules of the Foundation, and a Thing which had never been allowed before; for from immemorial Antiquity the lesser Mysteries were celebrated in the Month of *November*, and the great Solemnity in *August* following; so that consequently none of the Novices were admitted to the Latter, 'till they had at least spent an entire Year in the State of Probationer: Yet all this notwithstanding, when, in the publick Assembly, these Letters of *Demetrius* were produced and read,

(1) This Reflection is founded upon a Custom practised in these times, which was to allow no Women to act in their Plays. Their Parts were performed by Men, who wore Masques, and drest themselves in Women's Habits.

there

there was not one single Person who had the Courage to oppose them, except *Pythodorus* the Priest, who was Torch-bearer in those Solemnities; but it signified nothing; for *Stratocles*, who was always wickedly ingenious, proposed as an Expedient, that the Month of *March*, then currant, should by Edict be taken and repured to be the Month of *November*; which being as soon agreed as offered, and *Demetrius* thereby admitted to the lesser Ceremonies; by another Vote, they turned the same Month of *March* into the Month of *August*; by which Contrivance, *Demetrius* was also gratified with being an Actor in the Greater, and was admitted to the most secret Mysteries of that Solemnity; which gave the Comedian *Philipides* an Occasion to exercise his Wit upon *Stratocles* in this Couplet:

*Prodigious Skill! how strangely flattering Fear
Into one Month hath crowded all the Year.*

And upon his having proposed, that *Demetrius* should lodge in the Temple of *Minerva* within the Castle, these;

*Stratocles thinks it is no Sin,
To turn a Temple to an Inn;
Or with lewd wanton Company,
To blast Minerva's Chastity.*

Most certain it is, that the flagitious Crimes which were then committed, deserved a severe Satyr. And *Demetrius* Himself did in some measure scourge their mad Impiety by his unbounded Insolencies; but That which did above all other things regret the *Athenians*, was, That having given Command, that they should with all Expedition raise for his Service two hundred and fifty Talents, and They to comply with his Demands, being forced

to

to levy it upon the People, with the Severity of taking Distresses; when they presented him with the Money, which they had with such Difficulty raised, as if it were a trifling Sum, he commanded it to be given to *Lamia*, and the rest of his Women, to buy them perfumed Wash-Balls for their Baths; by which kind of Treatment, it is a Question, whether the Shame or the Loss, the manner of his contemptuous Expression, or the parting with their Money, was the more galling Affliction to those foolish People; tho' the Story is variously reported; and Some affirm, it was the *Thessalians*, and not the *Athenians*, who were thus treated by him. But however, This is most certain, that *Lamia* squeezed considerable Sums of Money from them, upon Pretence of making a great Entertainment for him; and in Truth the Supper was of that Magnificence and Plenty, and managed with so much Skill and pleasing Variety, that *Lyncæus* of *Samos*, who was present at it, thought it worth his pains to write a Description of it. Upon this Occasion, one of the comical Wits of the Town gave *Lamia* the Name of *Helepolis*; saying, She alone was an Engine sufficient, without any other, to destroy a City. And *Demochares* of *Solis* gave *Demetrius* the Appellation of (1) *Mythos*, which signifies a Tale or Fable; because, said he, *There*

(1) Antient History makes mention of a Queen of *Libya*, who in a Rage for having lost all her own Children, caused Those of other Women to be seized, ordered them to be killed in her Presence, and then devoured them. From hence she was called *Lamia*, which is derived from the Phœnician Word *Lahama*, to devour. Upon which *Diodorus* writes that this *Lamia* became the Children's Scar-crow. *Ἰδὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μέ-*

*χει τῆ νῦν βίῃ ὡς τοῖς νηπίοις διαμένειν τὴν αἰὲς τὴν γυναικὸς ταύτης φήμιν καὶ φοβερότατον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ταύτης προσήγο-
ρίαν. For which Reason the Fame of this Woman is continued down among our Children even to these times, her very Name putting them into a terrible Fright. The Passage in *Diodorus* may serve to illustrate This in *Plutarch*, and give a right turn to the Saying of *Demochares*.*

is never a Tale but has its Witch or Lamia at the end on't; and Demetrius has His Lamia too.

In short, he was bewitched with this Woman to that degree, as for her Sake, not only to draw upon himself the Envy and Jealousy of all his Wives, but the Hatred even of the best of his Friends; as appears by this Instance. *Lyfimachus*, shewing to the Ambassadors of *Demetrius* the Scars of those Wounds which he had received upon his Thighs and Arms, by the Paws of the Lion, with which *Alexander*, in one of his furious Humours, had obliged him to combat, they smiling, replied, *That the King their Master was not without His Scars, but could shew upon his Neck the Marks of a Lamia, a no less dangerous and furious Beast than That with which He had encountered.* And if she was not a real Enchantress, it is very odd and unaccountable, that *Demetrius* should shew so great an Aversion to marry *Philla*, by reason of the Disproportion of her Age, when yet he was so passionate of *Lamia*, who was so far past the Meridian of her Years, as to stand in need of other Charms besides Those of Youth and Beauty. She had indeed a delicate Voice, and most admirable Touch upon the Lute, with which *Demetrius* was extreamly delighted; and one Evening, after she had entertained him with that soft Musick all the time he was at Supper, he demanded of *Dema*, whom, for her blunt way of speaking any thing to him, they usually called *Mad Dema*; *What say you, Dema? How seems she to you now?* Truly, Sir, replied *Dema*, *she seems to me to be an old Woman.* And *Demetrius*, another time at Supper, when the Desert was put on, resuming the same Discourse, *Here Dema*, said he, *see what delicious Fruit Lamia has sent me;* In troth, Sir, replied she, *if you will lye with my Mother, I will undertake she shall send you much finer.* It is also reported of this *Lamia*, how she opposed the famous Sentence

rence of *Bocchoris*, the *Egyptian* Judge, on this manner: A certain young Spark, being wonderfully smitten with the Charms of a celebrated Curtesan, whose Name was *Thonis*, the insatiable Prostitute, thinking to make Advantage of his lascivious Folly, promised she would be at his Service; but withal, demanded so great a Sum, as he either was not able to give, or at least thought too great a Price to purchase the Repentance of parting with it for one Night's Lodging: But it seems his Imagination, which was sharp set upon what he had treated of in the Day, presented him with the Possession of her in a Dream; and the Shadow being much cheaper, and possibly wholesomer than the Substance, he was contented to have the *Thonis* of his own Fancy, and his Mony too. But the confident Woman having heard the Story, with the Effrontery of that unblushing Tribe, commences a Suit against him, and lays her Action for so much Mony as she had demanded of him; alledging, it was but just that she should have Satisfaction, since he confess he had had his Bargain: *Bocchoris*, who thought it the greatest Justice to put an Affront upon such Confidence, advised the Youth to bring into the Court so much Money as she had demanded, and to count it over, so as *Thonis* might hear the Noise; which being done accordingly, *Mistress*, said *Bocchoris*, you may go about your Business if you please, for you are paid in your own Coin, one Fancy being as good as Another. But *Lamia*, who, it seems, would turn Advocate for one of her own Profession, moved in Arrest of Judgment, That the Sentence was no way equal, in regard, that the Desire which *Thonis* had to finger the Mony, was in no sort satisfied by hearing it chink, but rather increased; whereas, on the contrary, the Youth was abundantly satisfied with the Enjoyment of *Thonis* in the Entertainment of his amorous Imaginations: But enough

nough of *Lamia*; let us now return to *Demetrius*, whose Fortune beginning to bend her Brows, will conduct us from the Comical, to the more Tragical Occurrences, and darker Scenes, of his following Life.

For now all these Kings whom he had disobliged, or who were jealous of his growing Ambition and formidable Power, entered into a strong Confederacy against Him and his Father *Antigonus*; and assembling their united Strength, *Demetrius* was constrained to abandon *Greece*, and to join with his Father, to weather the Storm which was gathering from all Quarters, and threatened to discharge its Violence upon their Heads. *Antigonus*, upon the Occasion of this War, shewed a Courage and Fierceness much disproportionate to his Years; he was a Prince of an undaunted Spirit, and could he but have preserved a little Temper in his vain Ambition, and not have aspired to an absolute Sovereignty over the other Princes, Successors of *Alexander*, who were his Equals, he might in all Probability not only have continued in the first Rank of them All, but have left that Honour to his Descendants; but he was of a violent and haughty Spirit, much addicted to undervalue all other Princes, and to treat them both in his Words and Actions more insolently than was either consistent with his Interest, his Prudence, or the Honour due to Kings; and though by this rash Freedom of his Language, he had drawn a formidable Power of the most considerable Princes against him; yet when he first heard of the Confederacy, he could not forbear despising the Confederates, by a Vanity peculiar to him, declaring *he would dissipate and dissolve that Confederacy with as much ease as he would disperse a Parcel of Birds feeding in a Corn-field, who would take to the Wing at the least Noise, and the casting of a Stone in among them.*

So

So soon as the Troops which composed the Gross of his Army could be brought together, *Antigonus* took the Field at the Head of seventy thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and seventy five Elephants. His Enemies were little inferior to him in Number of Men; for they had sixty four thousand Foot, and ten thousand five hundred Horse; but they far surpassed him in Elephants, of which they brought four hundred into the Field, and a hundred and twenty Chariots of War.

When these two formidable Armies approached near, there happened an odd kind of Alteration in the Humour of *Antigonus*; and though his Courage and Resolution received no great Abatement, yet his Hope and Confidence seemed something to flag and hang their Wings; for whereas formerly there was wont to be a certain joyous Fierceness dwelling in his Eyes, and he used to speak boldly and bravely, and even in his Encounters to drop some witty Ralleries, to encourage his Soldiers, he now became very thoughtful, silent, and retired: One Day above all the rest, taking *Demetrius* along with him, he shewed him to the Captains, and the whole Army, which was drawn out upon this Occasion, and recommended him to them, as his declared Successor. These uncusomary Actions occasioned some Admiration in Those who observed them; but That which increased the Wonder, was, that now he took *Demetrius* into his most secret Counsels; whereas formerly he never used to communicate his Designs to any Person; but when he had resolved any thing, to give out his peremptory Commands for the Execution; inso-much that it is reported, that when *Demetrius* was a Youth, he enquiring of the King what time the Army should decamp: He answered him in a little Passion, *Why do you trouble your self a-*

bout That? Are You the only Person afraid that you shall not hear the Trumpet?

But there were other very ominous Presages, besides this Change in the Humour of *Antigonus*, which, according to the Superstition of those times, abated the Hopes and Courage of the Army: For in his Dream, the great *Alexander*, compleatly armed, seemed to appear to *Demetrius*, and demanded of him, what *Word* they intended to give in the time of the Battel? And *Demetrius* answering, That he intended the *Word* should be *Jupiter* and *Victory*: *Well then I see*, said *Alexander*, turning short from him with an Air of Displeasure, *you have no Service for me; I will go over to your Enemies, who, I am assured, will entertain me with Joy.* And the very Morning of the Combar, as the Armies were drawing up, *Antigonus* going out of the Door of his Tent, by some Accident or other, stumbled, so that he fell flat upon the Ground, and bruised himself very sorely: This He, as well as Others, took for no good Augury; and therefore, so soon as he had recovered his Feet, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, *O ye immortal Gods*, cried he, *if you so please, I beg a Victory from you this Day; but if That cannot be granted, let me obtain the Favour of Death at your Hands, and that I may not live and blush to see my self vanquished, and with shame survive my dying Glory.*

When the two great Armies had for some time faced One the Other, the Signal being given, after whole Showers of Arrows, which obscured the very Sun, had been exchanged, as the first Compliments of Death, they quickly came to Handy-Blows; and *Demetrius*, who commanded the greatest and best part of the Cavalry, gave such a furious Charge upon *Antigonus* the Son of *Seleucus*, that unable to endure the Shock, He and the Body which he commanded turned their Backs and fled;

fled; and *Demetrius*, transported with the Success, pursued them so eagerly, and so far, as that it fatally lost him the Day; for when, perceiving his Error, he would have come into the Assistance of his own Infantry, he was not able, the Enemy with their Elephants having cut off his Retreat; and on the other hand, *Seleucus* observing the main Battel of *Antigonus* left naked of their Horse, he made an Offer of charging them in the Front; but then suddenly by wheeling about, as if he intended to attack them in the Flank and Rear, he thereby gave Opportunity to Those among them, who had before resolved it, perfidiously to revolt from *Antigonus*, and come over to his Party, as great Numbers of them did; and This put the rest into such a Consternation, no Man knowing who were Friends, and who Enemies, that the whole Army was instantly put to the Rout. In this amazing State of his Affairs, the old King *Antigonus* still kept his Post; and when a strong Body of the Enemies drew up to charge him, One of those about him, seeing it, cryed out to him, *Sir, consider with your self what you will do; do you not see that Party which are coming down upon you?* to which he only replied, *Let them come if they dare; Demetrius will come in to my Rescue and Assistance!* There was his last Hope: But alas! it was in vain; for after he had looked on every side to see if he could perceive *Demetrius*, he was with a Storm of Arrows, Darts and Javelins, born down dead upon the Earth; where being fallen, there remained with him, of all the numerous Company of his flattering Followers, not One to take care of his Body after his Death, besides *Thorax* of *Larissa*; thus ended this fatal Battel, and thus the Life of the unfortunate *Antigonus*.

After the unlucky event of this deciding Combat, the Kings who had gained the Victory tore

all the Empire, which *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* had possessed, into Pieces, and shared those large Territories among Themselves. As for the unfortunate *Demetrius*, He with five thousand Foot and four thousand Horse marched with great Haste to the City of *Ephesus*, where being arrived, it was the common Opinion that he would seize upon the Treasures of *Diana's* Temple, to enable him to raise Recruits, and put himself into a Capacity to arrest the Progress of his Enemies Arms, and endeavour to re-instate himself in his former Empire; but he was so far from That, that fearing lest his Soldiers might be tempted to make some such impious Attempt, he hastened from thence, and embarking the small Remains of his Army, he sailed for *Athens*; for there it was that he had placed his greatest Hopes, having left there the best part of his Navy, his Treasure, and his Queen *Deidamia*; and from Them he had not the least Doubt, but he should in this Extremity find a seasonable and considerable Assistance. And considering what he had done for them, it is no wonder if *Demetrius* was exceedingly surprized, when at the Islands of the *Cyclades* the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with this ingrateful Message, that he must not think of a Retreat to *Athens*, for that the People had made a Decree, that no crowned Head should be received into their City; as for his Queen *Deidamia*, they conveyed her honourably with attendance suitable to her Quality to *Megara*.

Demetrius, who had hitherto warded all the Cross-blows of Fortune with a dextrous Constancy, and marvellous height of Courage, was not able to bear This without Transports and Emotions: It was impossible for him to reflect upon his former Favours to them, or without the most sensible Resentment and Displeasure find all those Applauses and

and Honours, with which they had oppressed him in his more prosperous Estate, so false and treacherous, as that, contrary to his last Hopes and reasonable Expectances, they should so basely desert him in this important turn of Affairs; and from thence he drew a clear Inference, *That there can be nothing more uncertain than the Judgment that is drawn of the Felicity of Princes and Potentates, from the airy Honours and servile Flatteries of a Populace; since it is difficult if not impossible to determine, whether those extraordinary Heats of popular Favour are the Effects of their Inclinations, with respect to the Virtue and Merit, or of their Fears of the Power of great and prosperous Princes; and that the People are equally transported into Extreams, both by Fear and Love.* And therefore Judicious Princes are wisely accustomed, not to value themselves so much upon the erecting of Statues, Triumphant Arches, or paying even divine Honours to them, (1) as upon the Foundation of their own just Actions and Deportment, being assured, that nothing is more common than for the unconstant Multitude to hate excessively Those, who receive immoderate Honours from them, even then when they seem most willingly to bestow them.

But *Demetrius*, who found himself at that time not in a Condition to revenge the Affront, cunningly dissembled his Resentment, and only gently expostulated the Matter with the *Athenians*, by his Embassadors, desiring them, that since they would not permit him the Favour of coming to their City, that at least they would be so kind to send him his Gallies, among which there was one of thirteen Ranges of Oars: And This being accorded him, he

(1) This is a sure Maxim. Princes have no other way of judging of the Opinion their Subjects have of them, and of their Inclinations towards them, than by examining into their own Conduct, and their Behaviour to them. One corresponds exactly with the other.

failed to the *Isthmus of Peloponnesus*, and finding his Affairs in a very ill Condition, his Garrisons being either taken, or revolted to the Enemy, he left *Pyrrhus* to attend the Affairs of Greece, and took his Course into *Chersonesus*, where he ravaged the Territories of *Lyfimachus*, and by the Booty which he took, both maintained and augmented his shattered Troops; nor did Any of the Other Princes once go about to impeach his Enterprizes on that side; for *Lyfimachus* had as little Reason to be beloved for his Virtue, and as much to be feared for his Power, as *Demetrius*; and they were very well satisfied to be Spectators to see them lessen One the Other.

In the midst of these Transactions, *Seleucus* sent Embassadors to treat with *Demetrius* for a Marriage betwixt Himself and the Fair *Stratonice*, the Daughter of *Demetrius* by the Princess *Philla*: It is true, that *Seleucus* had already a Son by *Apamia* the Persian Lady, whose Name was *Antiochus*, but it was also true, that he was possessed of so many spacious Territories, as might well satisfy the Ambition of more than one Successor: and that which the rather induced him to this Alliance with *Demetrius*, was that *Lyfimachus*, to strengthen His Alliances, had married himself to One of *Ptolemy's* Daughters, and his Son *Agathocles* to Another. *Demetrius*, who looked upon the Offer as an unexpected piece of good Fortune, immediately embarked himself and Daughter, and with his whole Fleet sailed directly for *Syria*.

During this Voyage he was often obliged to touch upon several Coasts, for the Benefit of Provisions and fresh Water, and among other Places in *Cilicia*; which by the Apportionment of the Kings, after the Defeat of *Antigonus*, was allotted to *Plistarchus* the Brother of *Cassander*: *Plistarchus*, who took this Descent of *Demetrius* upon his Coasts as

an Infraction of the mutual Treaty betwixt the Confederate Princes, posted away to *Cassander*, to oblige him to expostulate the Matter with *Seleucus*, and to know the Reason, why he had entered into Amity with *Demetrius* the common Enemy, without first acquainting the other Confederates with his Intention. *Demetrius* receiving Information of This, laid hold of the Opportunity of his Absence, and suddenly racking about, fell upon the City of *Quindon*, and surprized it, and in it a thousand two hundred Talents, being part of the Treasure which had been taken in the Battel from his Father *Antigonus*, and with this Prize he hasted to his Gallies, and embarking himself and his Troops he pursued his Voyage.

He was scarcely come to an Anchor on the Coast of *Syria*, before he was met by his Queen *Philla*, the Mother of the beautiful Bride; and immediately after they landed, and were all received by *Seleucus* at the City of (1) *Orossus*, with all the innocent Freedom and Royal Gallantry imaginable. First *Seleucus* treated *Demetrius* and his Retinue ashore, in a stately Pavilion in his Camp; and then *Demetrius* entertained his new Son-in-Law in a most splendid manner aboard the Admiral Gally, the then Wonder of the Seas: All the Visits were made, to shew their mutual Confidence, without any armed Attendants; and the Solemnity was continued for many days, until at length *Seleucus* took his leave, and conducted the fair *Stratonice* to the City of *Antioch*, where they were welcomed with all the State and Solemnity suitable to such an Occasion.

(1) There is no City of that Name in *Syria*. Instead of *Orossus*, Father *Lubin* upon just Grounds reads it *Rossus*, a maritime Town in that Country; placed by *Strabo* between *Issus* and *Seleucia*.

In his return, *Demetrius* made a fresh Descent upon *Cilicia*, and when he had possessed himself of the whole Province, he sent his Queen *Philla* to her Brother *Cassander*, to answer the Complaints of *Plistarchus*. And here Queen *Deidamia* came by Sea out of *Greece* to meet him, but by the Incommodiousness of that Passage, which was too rough for so delicate and tender a Constitution, she contracted an Indisposition, whereof she died soon after. Upon her Death, *Demetrius* by the Mediation of *Seleucus* became reconciled to King *Ptolemy*, inso-much that he married his Daughter *Ptolemaida*: But the generous Deportment of *Seleucus* to this unfortunate Prince was not long liv'd; for shortly after, desiring to have the Province of *Cilicia* from *Demetrius*, for which he offered him a Sum of Money, and being refused it, in great Indignation he then demanded of him the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, rather with a design to beget a Quarrel, than upon the least pretension of Right or Necessity; and certainly it was a very mean and unworthy Baseness in Him, who was possessed of all the vast Provinces between *India* and the *Syrian Ocean*, for two poor Cities, which he unjustly coveted, to disturb the Peace of his Father-in-law, who had already suffered so insupportable a change of Fortune; but herein he made good the Opinion of the Divine *Plato*, *That the certain way to be truly Rich, is not to be so sollicitous to increase a Fortune, as to give Limits to our own Desires.* For whoever is always grasping at more, confesses he is still in want, and is therefore miserable and poor, because in the midst of all his Affluence he wants that Contentment and Moderation of his Desires, which Only can render any Person Rich and Happy.

But *Demetrius*, whose Courage was not sunk with his Fortune, resolutely sent him this Answer, "That tho' he were to lose never so many Battels,
" All

"All (1) of them as fatal as That of *Ipsus*, he would "never purchase the Friendship of *Seleucus* at so tame "a rate;" and therefore to secure them against his Attempts, he reinforced those strong Cities with sufficient Garrisons, and all manner of warlike Stores, to enable them to make a brave Defence against *Seleucus*, if his insatiable Ambition should tempt him to attack them. Having taken care of these important Places, and receiving Information that one *Lacharis*, taking the Opportunity of their Civil Dissentions, had set up himself as an Usurper over the *Athenians*, he imagined, that if he made a sudden Attempt upon the City, he might now reduce it to his Obedience, and therefore with great Diligence he sailed with a powerful Navy towards *Greece*: But Fortune, who was now grown very uncourtly to him, treated him with so rough a Tempest, just when he came upon the Coast, that he lost divers of his Vessels, and a great Number of Soldiers which were aboard. As for Himself he escaped, and began to make a little kind of War with the *Athenians*, but finding it impossible to effect his Design, he sent to assemble the rest of his Fleet and Forces, which had been dispersed by the late Storm, and with those Troops which he had he marched and laid Siege to the City of *Messena*. While he lay before this Place, he ran one of the greatest Dangers of his whole Life, for in making an Attack upon the Town, an Arrow from an Engine struck him full in the Mouth, and passed clear through his Jaw; but by the Skill and Care of his Surgeons, it was not long before it was healed: and as soon as he was in a Condition to take the

(1) It is very plain that the Word *ἐνθ' ἡσσω* as it stands in the Text is corrupted. I have followed the Reading in a certain Manuscript

where it is *ἐν Ἰψῳ*. The Battel at *Ipsus* was a very important one, for There *Antigonus*, the Father of *Demetrius*, was overthrown, and slain.

Field, he regained divers Cities which had revolted from him, and made an Incurſion into the Territories of the *Athenians*, where he took *Eleuſina* and *Rhamnus*, and waſted all the whole Country thereabout. And that he might ſtraiten the *Athenians* by cutting off all manner of Proviſion, a Veſſel laden with Corn bound thither, falling into his Hands, he ordered the Maſter and Merchant who had freighted her to be immediately hanged, thereby to ſtrike a Terror into Others, that ſo they might not adventure to ſupply the City with Proviſions; by which means they were reduced to ſuch Extremities, that a Buſhel of Salt was worth forty Drachmas of Silver, and a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold at the exceſſive Rate of Three hundred. In this Diſtreſs, *Ptolemy* had ſent to their Relief an hundred and fifty Gallies, which came ſo near as to Anchor before *Egina*, but this ſhort Blaze of Hope was ſoon extinguished by the Arrival of three hundred Sail which came to the Aſſiſtance of *Demetrius* from *Cyprus*, *Peloponneſus* and other Places, which ſtruck ſuch a pannick Fear into the *Aegyptians*, that they cut and flipped their Anchors, and with Sails and Oars ſtood away for *Aegypt*; which the Tyrant *Lycharis* underſtanding, he inſtantly quitted the City, in order to his own Safety and Preſervation.

And now the *Athenians*, who, before by a popular Ediſt, had made it Capital for any Perſon ſo much as to propoſe a Treaty, or Accommodation with *Demetrius*, were compelled to ſend Embaſſadors to him, not ſo much out of hopes of obtaining any honourable Conditions from his Clemency, as out of pure Neceſſity, and to avoid a lingering Death by Famine, a domeſtick Enemy, which they were not able to reſiſt; for this impetuous Tyrant had reduced them to thoſe Extremities that there happened many odd Adventures during the time of the Siege, the effects of his irre-

sistable power: Among which this Story is very remarkable, that one day a Father with his Son sitting disconsolately in their House, lamenting their deplorable Condition, which had not left them any thing to sustain their Lives, a dead Rat happened to drop from the Cieling between them; whereupon they immediately fell into a mortal Scuffle, Which of them should have the Venison for his Dinner. And in this Famine, the Philosopher *Epicurus*, so celebrated for indulging his Appetite, was forced to save his Own, and the Lives of his Scholars, by a small Quantity of Beans, which by number were every Day distributed to them.

In this miserable Condition was the City when *Demetrius* made his publick Entrance, and he was no sooner possessed of the Place, but he made Proclamation, that all the Inhabitants should instantly assemble in the publick Theater; which being done he surrounded them with his armed Troops, setting also a strong Guard about the Stage. This administred no small Terror and Perplexity to the amazed People, who looked for nothing less than a Tragedy of Executions; but it was not long before he dissipated those Fears, for entering the Stage in Person by the Passage through which the Actors used to enter, he made an Oration to them, wherein he only gently reprehended their former ill Treatment of him, but withal told them, that he would receive them again into his Grace and Favour: And that it might appear his Intentions were real, he bestowed amongst them the welcome Donative of an hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; and to ingratiate himself the more, he promoted such Persons into the Offices of the Magistracy as he knew to be most agreeable to the People; so that nothing now was heard but loud Acclamations of Joy among the *Athenians*, and the Stages

Stages resounded with Speeches in the Praise of *Demetrius*; all the celebrated Orators of the City vying with one another in Commendation of his Generosity; and upon this Occasion the Orator *Dromoclides* proposed a Decree, that the Port of *Pyreus*, and the strong Cittadel of *Munychia*, might be put into the Power of *Demetrius*, to use them at his own Discretion, which was no sooner offered than passed by unanimous suffrage of the People, and *Demetrius* having put strong Garrisons into those two Places, by his own Authority placed another in the *Museum*, to the end that those People, who had shewed so much Levity in their Dispositions, might be kept in Subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the Prosecution of his other Enterprizes.

He had not been long Master of *Athens* before he had formed a Design against the *Lacedæmonians*, of which *Archidamus* their King being advertised, he to prevent it drew out an Army, and marched against *Demetrius*; but in this wise Method of carrying War out of his own Territories, he had not Fortune answerable to his Courage, for he was overthrown in a Battel near the City *Mantineæ*, and *Demetrius* following his Blow entred the *Laconian* Confines, and in a second Battel defeated him almost within View of the City of *Sparta*, wherein two hundred *Lacedæmonians* were slain, and five hundred taken Prisoners; and now it was esteemed almost impossible for the Virgin City of *Sparta*, which hitherto had never submitted to a Conqueror, to escape being ravished by his victorious Arms. But certainly, there never was any Prince upon whom Fortune made such short Turns, mounting him to the Pinacles of Hope and Glory, from thence to precipitate him into the utmost Despair and Misery: To-day he would be great and potent, to-morrow weak and broken, even almost beyond

beyond the Relief of Hopes or Miracles; which made him sometimes in the low Ebb of his adverse Condition reproach that inconstant Goddess with these Verses of the Poet *Æschylus*:

*Fortune, of all the Deities most vain,
Does lift me up, to throw me down again.*

Nor was there any Period of his Life in which she appeared more capricious than in this Rencontre; for when all things seemed so gloriously to conspire, not only to the Re-establishing, but Inlargement of his Greatness and Empire, an Express arrived, which brought him the dismal Account, that *Lyfimachus*, with a mighty Army, had taken all the Cities of which he was possessed in *Asia*: Nor was this a single Misfortune, for at the same time he was informed, that *Ptolemy* had subdued the whole Island of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamine*, where his Mother and Children were closely besieged, and in extream Danger; by which surprizing Intelligence, the City of *Sparta* was delivered from that imminent Fear and Danger.

But yet Fortune seemed to flatter him with Hopes upon another Occasion, treating him like the Woman (1) in the Play of *Archilocus*,

*Who Water in one cheating Hand did show,
Whilst in the other dreadful Fire did glow.*

For *Cassander* King of *Macedon* dying, and his eldest Son, who succeeded him, not long Surviving

(1) That Piece of *Archilocus*, out of which this Verse was taken, is lost. It is indeed a very Ingenious Fiction; for what Image can better describe an artful cheating Baggage, than to say she carries Water in one Hand, and Fire in the Other; and that when She is asked for Fire, She will give you Water, and Fire when you ask for Water.

his Father, the two younger Brothers fell at Variance concerning the Succession; and *Antipater* having barbarously murdered his own Mother *Theffalonice*, *Alexander* the younger Brother, fearing his savage and outrageous Inclinations, called into his Assistance *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, and *Demetrius*, who was then in *Peloponnesus*: *Pyrrhus* made all imaginable Expedition to his Succour, and did it effectually; but for a Recompence he held a great part of the Country which he had taken from *Antipater*, which begot a Suspicion in *Alexander*, that he had brought upon himself a dangerous Neighbour; and that he might not run a greater Hazard from *Demetrius*, whose Ambition, Power, and Reputation among the *Macedonians*, was such as might well create a Jealousie of him; this young Prince therefore posted away to the City of *Deion*, where he understood *Demetrius* was come with his Army, in Compliance with the Request he had made him by his Letters; when he arrived there, he applied himself with great Respects to *Demetrius*, and returned him high Acknowledgements for his Readiness to assist him, but without gave him to understand, that now his Affairs were in so good a Posture, that he had no Occasion to give him any further Trouble; and thereupon invited him to an Entertainment which he had provided for him, in some measure to shew how sensible he was of his Favours. But as *Demetrius* was about to go to the Place of Assignment, one came and whispered in his Ears, that there was a Train laid, that in the midst of the Jollity *Demetrius* was to be taken off. *Demetrius*, who before began to suspect the Treachery of *Alexander*, seemed not much concerned, but making only a little less haste, he sent to the principal Officers of his Army, commanding them to draw out the Soldiers, and make them stand to their Arms, and ordered

dered Those of his Retinue to attend him into the very Room of the Entertainment, and not to stir from thence, 'till they saw him rise from the Table. In this Equipage he came to *Alexander*, and his Servants who were to have performed the Execution, finding themselves overpowered, had not Courage to attempt any thing upon him; and indeed *Demetrius* gave them no Opportunity, for he made a very short Visit, and pretending to *Alexander*, that he was not at present disposed to be a good Companion, in regard that he had just now received Advices, which obliged him by the Necessity of his Affairs to march away with his Army the next Day; he therefore desired his Excuse for the present, assuring him, that he would do himself the Honour to wait upon him, when his Affairs would permit him better Leisure.

Alexander was extreamly overjoyed, not only at this Resolution of his Departure, but that it appeared voluntary, and without any sort of Disgust, for he did not know that his Plot was discovered; and therefore in a Compliment, he would by all means accompany *Demetrius* unto the Confines of his Dominions. When they were arrived at *Larissa* a City of *Theffaly*, new Invitations passed between them, which were the outward Appearances of Respect and Civility, but secretly intended for each other's Destruction; and this young Prince, who thought to avoid a second Miscarriage in his Design against the Life of *Demetrius*, drew the Misfortune upon Himself; for going to an Invitation which *Demetrius* had made him, that he might bring him into a like Security and Confidence by his Example, he dismissed his ordinary Guards, and went slenderly attended with some of his most particular Friends; when they had sate a little time, *Demetrius* hastily arising from the Table, the surprized young Prince rose also, and followed him just

to the Door, where *Demetrius*, as he passed through, only said to the Guards, *Kill Him that follows me.* Which being *Alexander*, they immediately dispatched him, and such of his Friends as endeavoured to come to his Rescue, one of which, before he died, said, *You have prevented us but by one Day.*

It is very easie to apprehend, that this Action made the Night pass over with great Fears and Disorders, among the *Macedonians* who followed *Alexander*; nor was the Horror of the Darknes much relieved by the succeeding Beams of that Day, which they had reason to suspect, from the Power and Resentments of *Demetrius*, would be their last; but these Fears were dissipated with the Darknes, for there was not any manner of Violence offer'd them; but *Demetrius* sent and invited them into his Presence, for that he was desirous to give them Satisfaction, for what had happened to *Alexander*: It is not difficult to believe that they went cheerfully to give him the hearing, and therefore *Demetrius* having acquainted them with the Baseness and Treachery of *Alexander*, and his good Intentions toward them, there was no necessity to make a long Harangue to draw those to his Party, who saw their Lives lay at his Mercy; besides, there being none remaining of the Family of *Cassander*, but only *Antipater*, whose Hands yet blushed with the Blood of the Queen his Mother, and who for his abominable Parricide was equally infamous and odious to the People, and not being sensible of a Person more worthy than *Demetrius*, upon whom they might, if at Liberty, fix their Choice, they instantly proclaimed Him King of *Macedon*, whereupon he presently returned to take Possession of his new Kingdom, which Fortune had so unexpectedly thrown into his Arms. Nor was this Choice at all disagreeable to the rest of the *Macedonians* who

who remained at home, who had not yet forgot their Resentments against *Cassander*, for his detestable Treachery to *Alexander* the Great, of whom they suspected Him to have been the cruel Murderer: And all that Kindness which they had formerly had for *Antipater* the Father of *Cassander*, was now centred upon *Demetrius*, who had married his Grand-child *Philla*; and the young Prince which he had by her, who was now in the Trade of War, under the Conduct of his Father *Demetrius*. And to add to this unexpected good Fortune, an Express arrived, which brought him the welcome News, that *Ptolemy* had generously dismissed his Mother and Children, bestowing upon them magnificent Presents and Honours; and also that his Daughter *Stratonice*, whom he had married to *Seleucus*, was, by a pretty kind of Adventure, re-married to *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, and Crowned Queen of all the Provinces of Upper *Asia*:—Which happened thus.

This Prince *Antiochus* became passionately in Love with the beautiful *Stratonice* the young Queen, who had now made *Seleucus* the Father of a little Son. He struggled at first very hard with the Beginnings of this extravagant Passion, but finding on the one Hand an Impossibility to extinguish those Flames her fair Eyes had kindled, and on the other, that it was equally difficult to obtain his Desires, he saw no other Remedy for his hopeless Misfortune, but what was to be expected from Despair and Death, which he therefore resolved upon, and in Order to it, by feigning an Indisposition, to languish out his amorous Soul, by obstinately refusing all manner of Nourishment for the support of his Life. *Erasistratus*, the Physician who attended him, quickly perceived, that Love was his Distemper, but all the Difficulty was to discover the Object of his Flame; he therefore diligently

waited in his Chamber, and when any of the charming Beauties of the Court made their Visits to the sick Prince, he curiously observed the Emotions and Alterations in the Countenance of *Antiochus*, which he well knew, were wont upon such Surprizes, to betray the inward Passions and Inclinations of the Soul: He therefore took Notice, that the Presence of the Court Ladies wrought no manner of Alteration in him; but when *Stratonice* came alone, or in Company with *Seleucus*, to make him a Visit, he observed in him all those Symptoms of a most violent Passion, which are so tenderly expressed by the ingenious *Sappho*, he became suddenly mute and silent, his Passion smothering his Words, a fiery Blush would mount into his Face, he would fix his Eyes upon *Stratonice*, and then presently withdraw those stolen and guilty Looks; his Pulse would be disordered, a cold Sweat would seize upon him, and unable to support the violent Passion, he would become senseless and pale as that Death which he so much desired.

Erasistratus, from those infallible Symptoms, manifestly perceived that *Stratonice* was the dear Object of his Passion, and that he had taken a Resolution rather to perish than discover his Love; he evidently saw that he was in danger of his Life, if he did not find out some Way, to apply the only Remedy which was capable of giving him Recovery; and yet he could not but tremble to think of making a Discovery of that Nature to *Seleucus*; but considering the extraordinary Tenderness of *Seleucus* to the Prince; and the King one Morning enquiring of his Condition, he told him, *Sir, the Prince's Disease is Love, and he is incurable, because it is impossible for him to enjoy the Object of his Passion, and impossible for him to live without it.* The King was extremely surprized at this Account which the Physician gave him, but would by no means be satisfied,

tisfi
be
can
leuc
fuse
and
Lif
are
hav
wou
Ant
nice
Ab
kind
tha
but
Ant
the
his
him
need
are
prop
Fan
Pri
for
cil
Sta
stor
Kin
Hig
abs
hop
Cor
wo
ed
este

tified, 'till he understood how his Passion should be incurable. *Why Sir,* replied *Erasistratus*, *because he is in Love with my Wife.* *How!* said *Seleucus*, *will Erasistratus, my Dear Erasistratus, refuse me the Kindness to bestow his Wife upon my Son and Successor; when there is no other way to save his Life?* *Nay then Sir,* replied *Erasistratus*, *You who are his Father, and upon that Consideration, ought to have all the Tenderness imaginable for a Son, pray would you take the Counsel which you give me; and if Antiochus were thus desperately in Love with Stratonice, would you so easily resign your Interest to him?* *Ah my Dear Friend!* answered *Seleucus*, *may some kind God or Man put the safety of the Prince upon that Issue; I would part not only with Stratonice, but my Empire, upon Condition that I might preserve Antiochus, my Dearest Antiochus; and with that the Tears forced themselves a violent Passage over his aged Cheeks.* Whereupon *Erasistratus* taking him by the Hand, *Sir,* said he, *you have then no need of the Assistance of Erasistratus, for you, who are a Husband, a Father, and a King, are the most proper, and in this Case only Physician for your own Family; it is You only who can preserve the Life of Prince Antiochus, by resigning to him Stratonice, for that's his Disease.*

Whereupon *Seleucus* instantly summoning a Council of all his great Officers, declared unto them the State of this Affair, and that he was resolved to bestow *Stratonice* upon the Prince, and to create Him King, and Her the Queen of all the Provinces of the Higher Asia; telling them, that he thought he had so absolute a Power over the Prince's Will, that he hoped he should find in him no Repugnance to obey his Commands; and for the Queen, he hoped all his Friends would endeavour to make Her sensible, if she manifested any Reluctancy to this Marriage, that she ought to esteem those things just and honourable, which were so

O 2

absolutely

absolutely necessary to the general and publick Good. And by these Arguments, *Stratonice* was persuaded to this second Marriage, which quickly restored the Health of *Antiochus*, and was celebrated with extraordinary Joy and Solemnity.

But to return to the Affairs of *Demetrius*: He having obtained the Crown of *Macedon*, and being possessed of *Thessaly*, and the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, the Cities of *Megara* and *Athens*, the two Keys of the *Isthmus*, he turned his victorious Arms against the *Bæotians*; these People at first made some Overture of an Accommodation, but *Cleonimus* of *Sparta* coming to their Assistance, and reinforcing the City of *Thebes* with a considerable Garrison, and one *Pisis* a *Thespian*, who had a great Influence upon the People, animating them to make a brave Resistance, they brake off the Treaty and betook themselves to Arms: But no sooner had *Demetrius* begun to approach the Walls with his dreadful Engines, but *Cleonimus* affrighted at the sight of them, secretly withdrew; and thereupon the *Bæotians* finding themselves abandoned by this cowardly Confederate, surrendered to *Demetrius*, who put strong Garrisons into the chiefest Towns, and having drawn a round Sum of Money from them, he placed *Hieronymus* the Historian as his Deputy-Governor; but as to the main, he treated those vanquished People very obligingly, and particularly *Pisis*, to whom he not only frankly restored his Liberty, but also made him Governour over the *Thespians*.

It happened, not long after, that *Lyfimachus* had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner by *Dromichætes*, whereupon *Demetrius* hastened with his Army into *Thrace*, in Hopes that in the Disorder, into which this Accident must have put the Affairs of that Province, he might find an Opportunity to repossess himself of it; but *Lyfimachus* unexpectedly

pectedly regaining his Liberty, and the newly-con-
 quered *Bæotians* breaking out into a general Revolt,
 he was obliged to retire with his Army, and in
 great haste, to look after his own Affairs at home.
 Upon his Return he found that his Son *Antigonus*
 had in a Battel defeated the forces of the *Bæotians*,
 and therefore he immediately laid Siege to *Thebes*,
 whither they had retreated with their broken For-
 ces; but understanding that *Pyrrhus* had made an
 Incurfion into *Theffaly*, and that he was advanced
 as far as *Thermopyle*, leaving *Antigonus* to continue
 the Siege, he marched with the rest of his Army
 to oppose the King of *Epyrus*; but *Pyrrhus* gave
 him no Occasion to exercise his Courage; for upon
 the first News of his approach, he made a very
 hasty Retreat out of the Country, whereupon *De-*
metrius, leaving ten thousand Foot and a thousand
 Horse for the Guard of *Theffaly*, he returned to the
 Siege of *Thebes*, and there he brought his dreadful
 Engine in order to storm the City, but by reason
 of its unwieldly Bulk, and the Unevenness of the
 Ground, it was moved with such Labour and Dif-
 ficulty, that in two Months it did not advance two
 Furlongs: In the mean time the Citizens made a
 stout Defence, and *Demetrius*, who was resolute
 to be revenged on them for their Perfidy, obsti-
 nately maintained the Siege, and exposed Himself
 and his Soldiers to very hard and dangerous Service,
 infomuch that *Antigonus*, observing that many gal-
 lant Men daily lost their Lives, being sensibly
 moved with Pity, he addressed himself to the King
 his Father, and finding him as he thought in good
 Humour, *Sir*, said he, *I beseech your Majesty, what*
Reason is there to expose so many valiant Men to such
continual Danger, without a greater Necessity, when—
 But *Demetrius* in a great Passion, without permit-
 ting him to proceed; *And you, good Sir, why do*
you afflict your self for this matter, the more there are
killed,

killed, the fewer there will be for you to provide for. But that the Soldiers might see he valued his own Life at no dearer Rate than Theirs, he exposed himself to the same Dangers to which he commanded Them; and in a desperate Attack, which he one Day made, he was wounded with a Javelin, which struck quite through his Neck, and put him into very great Hazard of his Life; but notwithstanding his Illness he continued the Siege, and in Conclusion took the Town; and after his Entrance, when the Citizens expected all the Severities which an incensed Conqueror could inflict, he only put to Death thirteen of the Capital Rebels, and banished some few others, graciously pardoning all the rest: Thus the City of *Thebes*, after it had been raised from its Ruins, was twice taken in the space of ten Years.

Shortly after, the Festivals of the *Pythian Apollo* being to be celebrated, and the *Ætolians* having blocked up all the Passages to *Delphi*, *Demetrius* caused them to be kept at *Athens*, alledging it was great reason those Honours should be paid to *Apollo* in that Place, both in regard he was the Tutelar Divinity of that City, and that the *Athenians* pretended to derive from Him their Original and Pedigree.

From thence *Demetrius* returned to *Macedon*, and being not only of a restless Temper Himself, but considering the Genius of the *Macedonians*, who were ever the best Subjects when employed in military Expeditions, but seditiously busie and desirous of Change in the idleness of Peace; he led them against the *Ætolians*, and having wasted their Country, he left *Pantauchus* with a great part of his Army to perfect the Conquest, and with the rest he marched in Person to find out *Pyrrhus*; but so it fell out, that by taking different Ways, these two Armies did not meet, but whilst *Demetrius*

entered

entered *Epyrus*, and laid all waste before him, *Pyrrhus* at the same time encountred *Pantauchus*, where in the heat of the Combat the two chief Commanders meeting, entertained one the other with the Compliments of their Swords, 'till their Arms blushed at that kind of rude Civility, but in conclusion Victory perched upon the Standards of *Pyrrhus*, who besides great numbers slain upon the Place, took five thousand Prisoners.

This Blow would not have been so considerable as to have given *Demetrius* any great hurt, had it not been, that *Pyrrhus*, by his brave and fierce Deportment in this Encounter, did not only win the Glory of the Field, but the Hearts of the inconstant *Macedonians*; for now they began loudly to proclaim, that they saw in Him the very Picture of the hardy Courage and personal Bravery of their adored *Alexander*; whereas the other Kings his Successors, and particularly *Demetrius*, they said, resembled him in nothing so much as in his extravagant Humours and haughty Vanity: And to say nothing but Truth, *Demetrius* was something so affected in his Garb, as too nearly related to the Pageantry of the Theater: For not only his Body was used to be clothed with the most exquisite Travels of the Needle in Gold and Purple Robes, and his Head incircled with the uncommon Novelty of a double Diadem, but even his Shooes were made of curiously embroidered Purple with Golden Soles: And such was the profuse Vanity of this Prince, that he had commanded a Robe to be made for him, wherein with proud Art, there was to be wrought the Representation of the Universe, Sea and Land, the Celestial Bodies and Figures of the Sun, with all his Golden Glories, and the Silver Moon, and the sparkling Courtiers of the Night, which were to be imitated with the richest Diamonds that could

be procured. But the Reverse of his more gloomy Fortune overtaking him, the Work was never finish'd; but as it was, it was long preserved as a Monument of his magnificent Vanity: Not any of the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, tho' divers of them were reported to be haughty enough, arriving to that degree of Pride, to have it finished, or to adventure to wear it.

But it was not this outward Garb and Pomp alone which disgusted the *Macedonians*, but his profuse and dissolute way of Living; and above all, the Difficulty of Access to his Presence was extremely disobliging: For either he would not be seen at all by such as attended long for dispatch of their Affairs, or if he permitted them to come before him, he would treat them roughly and with Disrespect; nor were only private Persons thus used by him, but even such Ministers as negotiated publick Affairs: Thus he made the *Athenian* Ambassadors, to whom yet he was more civil than to all the other *Gracians*, attend two Years in his Court, before they could obtain an Audience from him; at another time when the *Lacedæmonians* sent a single Person on an Embassy to him, thinking it was done in Contempt, in great Indignation he demanded of him, *Whether the Spartans had but one Man that was fit to be sent upon an Embassy, since they sent no more?* To whom the Ambassador, according to the *Laconian* Mode, tartly replied; *Sure one Ambassador is enough to send to one King.*

It chanced one time that a Humour took him to be a little more than ordinarily Popular, and therefore going abroad, he was immediately accosted by a Multitude of importunate Petitioners; he very courteously received their Supplications, and put up their Petitions in the Skirt of his Robe: The poor People overjoyed at this unusual Grace and Favour followed him close, in hopes to be

presently dispatched in their Suits; but when he came upon the Bridge of the River *Axius*, opening his Lap, he dropped all the Petitions into the River. This Action did strangely exasperate the *Macedonians*, who seeing their Hopes and Petitions both drowned, looked upon it as a very injurious and unkingly Frolick; and this brought to their Remembrance, what Some of them had seen, and Others had heard related of King *Philip*, who by a pretty Accident was reclaimed from this disobliging Humour: For that Prince being one day abroad, an old Woman made her application to him with a Petition; the King told her, he could not then dispatch her, in regard he had Affairs of greater Importance upon his Hands; to which the old Woman in a pet replied, *What! Greater than doing Justice? If you refuse to do Justice, pray lay aside your Royalty, and leave being a King.* This sharp Reprimand so nettled the King, that returning to the Palace, and setting all other matters apart, for several Days together he did nothing else, but receive the Complaints of All that would come, and redressed their real Grievances, to the general Contentment and Satisfaction of his People.

And certainly there is no Virtue more commendable or popular in a Prince, than Justice; which made *Timotheus* say that *Mars* is a great Tyrant, but Law, according to the incomparable *Pindar*, is the most glorious Queen of the Universe. And upon this Subject, (1) *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, observes, that *Jupiter* did not bestow upon Kings, terrible Engines or Ships of War for the destruction of Cities, but had committed the Oracles of Law and Justice to their Custody, in order

(1) This is in the first Book of the Iliad.

ὅτε δέμιναι

Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύεται

From whence the Power of Laws
and Justice springs.

Pope
to.

to their good Government and Preservation, (1) and that the most just Princes, and not the fierce and violent, were They who were honoured with the glorious Title of His Friends and Disciples. But *Demetrius* was not at all solicitous of the Title of such a King as resembled the Gods; for disdaining the Appellations of *Polieus*, or *Polioukos*, the Tutelary Preserver of Cities, he rather affected the Name of *Poliorcetes*, the Destroyer of them. By his affected Folly mistaking the very Nature of Vice and Virtue, placing his Glory in Injustice, and esteeming base and ungenerous Actions, as if they had been the laudable Ornaments of a virtuous Prince.

But to return to the Historical pursuit of his Life: *Demetrius* being at *Pella* fell into a desperate Malady, the true Daughter of Intemperance and Luxury; and while he lay struggling with the Violence of the Distemper, *Pyrrhus* laying hold of this Occasion, took from him the greatest Part of *Macedon*, and advanced as far as the City of *Edeffa*. But *Demetrius* recovering his Health, quickly recovered from him his Dominions also, and obliged *Pyrrhus* to content himself with his own Kingdom. And that he might not employ his whole time in these little Conflicts with a Neighbour, his Thoughts being fixed upon another Design, from which he was unwilling to be diverted by this per-

(1) This Passage is in the sixth Book of the *Odyssey*.

ἐνθα τὲ Μίνως

Ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μέ-
γ' ἄλκ' ὀφεισῆς

Where scepter'd Minos—

— each ninth revolving Year

By Jove receiv'd in Council to
confer.

Pope.

Plato with very good Reason cal-
leth This the highest of all Com-

mendations, and *Plutarch* wisely observes that *Homer* doth not give it but to the most Just of all Kings, even to Him who on account of his Justice was thought worthy to be established Judge in the Realms below. This was the first *Minos*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. The Reader may see the Notes on the Life of *Theseus*, Vol. I. p. 80.

ty War, he concluded a Peace with *Pyrrhus*. For now he had formed a Design to endeavour the Recovery of the whole Empire which his Father had possessed; and his Preparations were every way suitable to his aspiring Hopes, and the Greatness of the Enterprize. He gave out Commissions for the levying of ninety eight thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; and Orders for the building and rigging out a Fleet of five hundred Gallies; some to be built at *Athens*, others at *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Pella*. And so assiduous and diligent was he, in the forwarding of these vast Preparations, that he was continually posting from Place to Place, to give Advice and Direction to the Carpenters and Artificers, for the building them more strong and serviceable: And herein he was so great a Master, that the Artizans Themselves, as well as all Others, were amazed, not so much at the Number, as at the stupendious Bulk and Contrivance of this extraordinary Navy; for hitherto there had never been a Gally with fifteen or sixteen Ranges of Oars. It is true, that afterwards *Ptolemy Philopater* built a prodigious Gally of eighty Rows of Oars, which was two hundred and eighty Cubits in Length, and the Height of her from the Water to the Top of her Stern was forty eight Cubits, she had four hundred Mariners, and four thousand Rowers, and besides there was a convenient standing for very near three thousand Soldiers to fight above the Decks. But this unwieldy Hulk, after all This, was only fit for Shew, and not for Service, for she looked like an immoveable Castle upon the Water, and was not to be stirred without extream Toil and Peril; whereas these Gallies of *Demetrius* were not the less serviceable for their Magnificence, but notwithstanding their Beauty and Ornaments, were as light and nimble, as they were extraordinary and sumptuous.

The

The Noise and Storm of these great Preparations, the like whereof had never been made since the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, threatening to fall upon *Asia*, awakened *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy* and *Lyfimachus*, to look to themselves, which obliged them to enter into a Confederacy for their mutual Defence and Security: They therefore dispatched Embassadors to *Pyrrhus*, to represent to him the necessity of rejecting the Peace he had made with *Demetrius*, and to persuade him to give him a Diversion, by making an Incurſion into *Macedon*; for that *Demetrius* had only concluded the late Peace with him, to be at liberty to prosecute his greater Designs, and that should he become Victorious, he would too late be sensible of the Danger of so potent a Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* finding Reason in the Proposition, presently closed with them; so that in an Instant *Ptolemy* with a mighty Navy invaded *Greece*; *Lyfimachus* entred *Macedon* upon the side of *Thrace*, and *Pyrrhus* fell in upon that part next to *Epyrus*, spoiling and wasting the whole Country. This was an unexpected Surprize to *Demetrius*; but however, leaving his Son *Antigonus* to look after the Affairs of *Greece*, he marched in great Diligence to the Relief of *Macedon*, and to oppose *Lyfimachus*: He was no sooner arrived near the Frontier, but he received the ill News that *Pyrrhus* had taken the City of *Berea*; and the Report being once gotten among the Soldiers, the whole Camp was filled with Disorders and Confusion, Cries and Lamentations; the Soldiers grew Insolent and Mutinous, and bestowing a thousand Execrations upon *Demetrius*, they openly declared, that they would march home to take care of their Country, Friends and Families; but in reality the Design was to revolt to *Lyfimachus*.

Demetrius finding them in these Distempers, resolved to remove further from *Lyfimachus*; for

for he
to th
of t
der,
Him
Pyrr
ed t
great
was
took
of P
been
dom
tiqui
in sh
volt:
ted,
into
them
own
for t
to ha
on o
derat
whic
easil
shou
tired
Purp
priv
the
Ears
com
tool
Lys
ther
Yea

for he judged, that though their former kindness to that Prince, under whose Conduct Many of them had served in the Wars of *Alexander*, might make them unwilling to combat with Him; yet they would make no difficulty to oppose *Pyrrhus*, a Foreigner and Invader, who had spoiled their Country: but he found himself under great mistakes in these Conjectures; for when he was advanced near to *Pyrrhus*, these Mutineers took occasion to extol the Gallantry and Courage of *Pyrrhus*, his generous Usage of Those who had been his Prisoners, and to declare, that the Kingdom by the Fundamental Custom, the Law of Antiquity, ought to devolve upon the bravest Man; and in short, to meditate a general Defection and Revolt: For at first some stragling Parties only deserted, but in a little time the whole Army broke out into an universal Mutiny; insomuch that Some of them insolently told him, that if he consulted his own safety, he were best to make haste to be gone; for that the *Macedonians* were resolved no longer to hazard their Lives, to combat for the satisfaction of his Luxury and Ambition. These were moderate Reproaches in Comparison of some others which he was obliged to endure; and therefore easily guessing what would be the Issue, if he should expose himself longer to their Rage, he retired to his Tent, and putting off the Imperial Purple, stole away in the disguised Habit of a private Soldier; and he was no sooner gone, but the Mutinous Army were all together by the Ears about the Plunder of his Tent; but *Pyrrhus* coming immediately, repressed their Fury, and took Possession of it Himself; and He, with *Lyfimachus*, parted the Realm of *Macedon* betwixt them, after *Demetrius* had possessed it just seven Years.

As

As for *Demetrius*, being thus suddenly despoiled of his Crown, he retired to *Cassandria*, where Queen *Philla*, oppressed with insupportable Grief, to see her Husband from the top of his Glory, reduced to the despicable Condition of a private and banished Person, reproaching Fortune for her blind Inconstancy, and overcome with the Violence of her Despair, took a fatal Potion, chusing rather to end her Days with the quick Operation of the mortal Drug, than to languish out a miserable Life in the tedious Delays of an adverse Fortune. But *Demetrius* did not love her so well as to bear her Company in that sort of Nectar, as great a Friend as he was to Liquors, but kept his Hopes still warm at the Heart; and studying how to repair the Shipwrack of his Affairs, he parted for *Greece*, and there assembled all his Friends and Captains, who had formerly served him, in Order to the forming an Army to endeavour the Recovery of his former Dignity and Dominions; and one may well apply That of *Sophocles* concerning *Menelaus*, to the various Changes of this Prince's Estate.

*Mounted on Fortune's ever-rolling Wheel,
Like that inconstant Deity I reel;
Or like the fickle Lady of the Night,
Who still puts on a diff'rent Dress of Light,
A silver Cornet first adorns her Head,
And the pale Beauty still doth larger spread,
'Till her grown Lustre blushing Stars admire,
And hide their dim diminish'd Sparks of Fire;
But then her dwindling Glories fade again,
And are reduced to their former Wane.*

And certainly this changeable Planet was the exact Emblem of this Prince, whose Accessions of Glory, and Eclipses of Honour, his Rises and Falls
are

are perfectly figured by her several Faces; for even when his expiring Glory seemed to give the last Gasps, his Power would strangely revive, and his Hopes flourish, as they did at this time, by the coming of divers Troops to his Assistance, which gave him encouragement to hope for the re-establishment of his Affairs: He had not however, since his last Disgrace, re-assumed the Royal Robe; whereupon a certain *Theban* seeing him in the mean Habit of a private Person, applied to him the Distich of *Eurypides*,

*Of an immortal God, again a Mortal made,
He courts Ismena's Banks, and Dirce's cooler Shade.*

But so soon as he began to entertain a prospect of Hope, he re-assumed the Regal Habit, and kept a little kind of Court at *Thebes*, though at the same time he restored their Democrattick Government to that City.

As for the treacherous *Athenians*, in this Misfortune, they again basely deserted him, and to do him the greater Disgrace, they displaced *Diphilus*, who was that Year the Priest of the two Tutelar Deities, and by a popular Edict restored the Priesthood to its ancient Form; and hearing that *Demetrius* grew very Powerful, they sent to King *Pyrrhus*, to beg His Assistance and Protection. *Demetrius* justly enraged against them for their repeated Perfidies marched to *Athens*, and laid close Siege to the City: In this Distress they sent out to him *Craterus* the Philosopher, a Person of great Authority and Reputation, to mediate a Composure; who managed his Negotiation with so much Dexterity, that what with his humble Intreaties and Remonstrances, and the solid Reasons which he offered, *Demetrius* was persuaded to raise the Siege; and shipping his Army, which consisted of

eleven Thousand Men, he resolved upon an Expedition into *Caria* and *Lydia*, to take those Provinces from *Lyfimachus*. Arriving at *Miletus*, he was met there by *Euridice* the Sister of *Philla*, his deceased Lady, who brought along with her *Ptolemaida*, the Daughter whom she had by King *Ptolemy*; which young Lady had been before affianced to *Demetrius*, and with Whom he now consummated his Nuptials; but he was too intent upon his other Designs, to be diverted from them by his new Amour; and therefore he presently began the Campaign, and was so fortunate in the beginning, that many Cities revolted to him; and Others, as particularly the City of *Sardis*, he took by force; divers Troops of *Lyfimachus* also came over to him with a considerable Sum of Money. But his Fortune, which was never constant, was now never lasting; for *Agathocles*, the Son of *Lyfimachus*, with a powerful Army made Head against him; which obliged him with his Army to divert into *Phrygia*, with an Intention to pass into *Armenia*; for he had an Imagination, that if he could persuade the *Medes* or *Armenians* to revolt, he should thereby gain many convenient Sea-ports, and Places of Retreat, to secure him against any ill Accident or Disaster that might befall him: *Agathocles* pressed very hard upon him, and many Skirmishes and Conflicts passed between Parties, wherein *Demetrius* had still the Advantage: But *Agathocles* being much superior in Number, straightned him so much in his Forage, that his Soldiers were forced to conflict more with Famine, than with their Enemies, and shewed a great Unwillingness to go into *Armenia* and *Media*; so that for fresh Quarters he was obliged to pass over the River *Lycus*, and in the Passage, many of his Men, by the Rapidness of the Torrent, were carried down the Stream,

Stream, and drowned: This Mischance exasperated the Soldiers to that Degree, that one of them fixed upon the Door of his Pavilion the two first Verses (1) taken out of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, with the change of one Syllable only in the Name,

*Thou Son of blind Antigonus,
Where are we?*

And to add to his Misfortune, the Pestilence, as is usual, when Armies are driven to such Necessities, as to subsist upon unwholsome Diet, began to assail them as well as the Famine; so that he lost eight thousand of his Men, and with the rest he retired to *Tarsus*; and because that City was under the Dominion of *Seleucus*, he strictly prohibited his Soldiers the committing any manner of Outrages or Violence, being unwilling to create himself a new Enemy in *Seleucus*; but when he perceived it was impossible to keep the Soldiers in Order, they being reduced to extream Necessity, and *Agathocles* having blocked up all the Avenues of Mount *Taurus*, to prevent their Foraging in his Territories, he resolved to write to *Seleucus* to appease him in this Matter: The Letter contained a long and tragical Relation of the miserable State to which he was reduced, and passionate Intercessions for his Commiseration to a distressed King and Re-

(1) From This it is evident that the Works of *Sophocles* were become familiar to every one. This is a very pat Parodie. It stands in *Sophocles*,

Τέκνον τυφλῷ γέροντι, Ἀν-
τιγόνη. τινὰς
Χάρης ἀφίγμεθα;
O Antigone, thou Daughter of a
blind old Man. whither are we come?

The Variation from the Poet is very small, *Antigonus* is put for *Antigone*. and the Words τυφλῷ γέροντι are taken in their genuine Meaning in *Sophocles* as they relate to *Oedipus*, but stand here in a figurative Sense, being applied to *Antigonus*, who was as blind as a dead Man could be.

lation, who was fallen into such a deplorable Condition, as might extort Tenderness and Pity from his very Enemies.

These Letters did so mollifie the Heart of *Seleucus*, that he gave out positive Orders to the Governors of those Provinces, *That they should furnish Demetrius with all Accommodations suitable to his Royal Quality, and with sufficient Provisions for his Troops.* But *Patrocles*, a Person of great Authority, and the Confident of *Seleucus*, perswaded him, *that this Entertainment of Demetrius, especially of his Soldiers, within his Dominions, was not at all agreeable to the sound Maxims of Policy; in regard, that of all the Kings of his time, Demetrius was the most violent in his Inclinations, and addicted to bold and daring Enterprizes; and that now being driven to Extremities by his adverse Fortune, a Condition which many times tempted Persons of the greatest Temper and Moderation to the most desperate Attempts, he could not, with any Security to Himself, afford him this Retreat of Entertainment.* *Seleucus*, exasperated with this Discourse, advanced with a powerful Army towards *Cilicia*; and *Demetrius*, astonished at this sudden alteration, betook himself for Safety to the Strengths and most inaccessible Places of Mount *Taurus*; from whence he sent Envoys to *Seleucus*, to request from him, *That he would permit him the liberty with his Army to seek to repair his broken Fortunes among the barbarous Nations, and there to establish a Kingdom, where he might pass the remainder of his Life in Quiet and Repose; and not in that rigorous Season of Winter, to expose him in this distressed, naked Condition, to the Fury of his implacable Enemies; but to allow him a competent Time, and Maintenance for the support of his small Army, 'till he might with convenience depart.*

But *Seleucus*, whose Jealousie was now the governing Passion of his Soul, sent him this peremptory

ptory Answer, That he would permit him to stay two Months and no longer in Cataonia, provided he immediately sent him the principal of his Friends and Officers, as Hostages for his Departure by that time; in the mean-while he shut up all the Passages into Syria: So that *Demetrius*, who saw himself thus encompassed as in a Toil, like an enraged Lion, flew upon the Prey, and fell to wasting the Territories of *Seleucus*, and in many Encounters had the Advantage of him; and particularly, when he was assailed by the armed Chariots, he entirely defeated them, and thereby opened his Passage into Syria. And now finding his Soldiers animated by these Successes, he was resolved to push at All, and to have one deciding Blow for the Empire with *Seleucus*; but that crafty Prince having refused the Assistance of *Lysimachus*, whom he both mistrusted and hated, made no great haste to the Encounter, but chose rather to weary *Demetrius*, and waste his Power by Delays; for there was nothing that he dreaded more than the perpetual Vicissitude of that Prince's Fortune, which he had so often known to have been raised from the most deplorable State, to the greatest excess of Glory.

But now all things seemed to conspire to the Ruin of this miserable Prince; for he was seized with a violent Distemper, which did not only endanger his Life, but deprived him of his Reason; so that his Army began to moulder away insensibly; Some deserting, and Others stealing away from a Service which they concluded desperate. After forty days he began to be so far recovered, as to be able to rally his Forces, and marched as if he directly designed for *Cilicia*; but in the Night, in great Silence he took a Counter-march, and passing the Mountain *Amanus*, he foraged all the Country as far *Cyrrhestica*. Whereupon *Seleucus* advanced towards him, and encamping at no great

distance, *Demetrius* took a Resolution to surprize him in his Camp; but the Design being by some Fugitives discovered to *Seleucus*, he had but just time in great Consternation to leap out of his Bed, and give the Alarm to his Men; as he was putting on his Boots to mount to Horse, *Sirs*, said he to the Officers about him, *Look well to your Charges; for we must now expect to combat with a furious and enraged wild Beast.* But *Demetrius*, by the Noise and Murmur he heard in the Camp, finding they had taken the Alarm, drew off his Troops, and began to retreat in the best Order he could; but the Morning quickly appearing, *Seleucus* followed hard upon his Rear, and obliged him to a disadvantageous Encounter. *Demetrius*, having drawn up his Army, and given the Command of one half of his Troops to one of his most expert Captains, with the Other he in Person charged so furiously, that he forced his Enemies to give Ground: But *Seleucus* lighting from his Horse, and covering his Arm with a Target, advanced to the foremost Ranks, and having put up the Visor of his Helmet, that he might be known, he addressed himself to the Soldiers of *Demetrius*, exhorting them to lay down their Arms, and not desperately throw away their Lives; telling them withal, that it was for their sakes only that he had so long forboren coming to Extremities: And thereupon, without a Blow more, these perfidious Mercenaries submitted, and saluted *Seleucus* as their King.

Demetrius, who in the whole course of his Life, had been accustomed to strange Turns, from thence drew a Hope that he should weather This Storm also; and therefore with the slender Attendance of his Friends, he fled to the Mountain *Amanus*, where in a thick and spacious Wood he secured himself, resolving, under the Mantle of the Night, to make his Escape towards *Caunus*; where he hoped

hoped to find his Shipping ready to transport him: But upon Enquiry, finding that they had not Provisions for more than one day, that Design was quashed, and he began to think of some other Project; whilst he was rolling over a thousand irresolute Thoughts, his Friend *Sofigenes* arrived, who had four hundred Pieces of Gold about him, and with this little Relief he again re-assumed his first Resolution and Hopes to recover the Coast. So soon as it began to be dark he set forward towards the Mountains, but perceiving by their Fires that the Enemies had possessed themselves of all the Passages, and that it was impossible for him to pass undiscovered, he retreated to his old Station in the Wood, but not with all his Troop; for divers had deserted him, and the little Remainder were extremely dejected and disheartned, so that Some of them began to talk of surrendring Themselves and *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, as the only Means left them for their Safety: Which *Demetrius* over-hearing, he drew out his Sword, and had infallibly passed it through his own Heart, but that some of his Friends interposing, prevented the fatal Attempt, and began to persuade him, that it was much more manly to try the Generosity of *Seleucus*, and to reserve his Life for a better Destiny, and future Hopes: And with these Arguments, but principally by irresistible Necessity, he suffer'd himself to be overcome; and therefore dispatched some of his Attendants to *Seleucus*, to let him know that he was willing to surrender Himself and his Friends to his Generosity and Mercy. *Seleucus*, transported at this News, cryed out: (1) *It is not the good*

(1) This is a fine Saying. When we have an Opportunity of doing good to any one, we must look on it as Our good Fortune, which has put it in our Power, and not as His, on whom we confer the Benefit. Let us never therefore reject the Favours of so indulgent a Deity.

The LIFE of

Fortune of Demetrius, which hath found out this Expedient for his Safety, but my Own; which I esteem the greatest Favour she ever did me, since thereby she hath given me opportunity to shew my Clemency and Generosity. And instantly he gave Order to his Domestick Officers to prepare a Royal Pavilion, and all things suitable, for the splendid Reception and Entertainment of *Demetrius*.

There was in the Court of *Seleucus*, one *Apollonides*, who formerly had been intimately known to *Demetrius*. He was therefore, as the fittest Person, dispatched from the King, to attend *Demetrius*, and to desire him to dissipate all manner of Fear and Distrust, and to give him assurance that *Seleucus* was resolved to treat him with all the Honour due to a King, and the Kindness of a Relation. No sooner was this Message known, but all the principal Courtiers and Officers of *Seleucus*, thinking *Demetrius* would instantly become a great Favourite with the King, made haste to congratulate *Demetrius* and kiss his Hand: but this ill-timed application, and over-officiousness, proved very mischievous to that unfortunate Prince; for it gave occasion to his Enemies to insinuate to *Seleucus*, that this Usage of *Demetrius* was a most dangerous Civility, and that his Presence might have very fatal influences upon the Army, the Officers shewing more Inclination to Him already than was consistent with their Duty, or the Safety of *Seleucus*; which representations made such impressions upon the Spirit of *Seleucus*, as produced Sentiments and Resolutions different from the Former.

For whilst *Apollonides*, and after Him many Others were relating to *Demetrius* the kind Expressions of *Seleucus*, and the Orders he had given; and that poor Prince, who before thought this Rendition of himself the greatest Mistfortune of his Life, now began in his Thoughts to applaud the

the Action, and to flatter himself with vain hopes, *Pausanias* with a Guard of a thousand Horse and Foot, amidst all the Caresses of his Friends, came, and by order from the King seized him, and carried him, not as he hoped, like a Prince to the Presence of *Seleucus*, but a Prisoner to the Castle of *Chersonefus* in *Syria*, where he was committed to the safe Custody of a strong Guard. It is true he wanted nothing but Liberty, for by the command of *Seleucus* he had a most liberal allowance for Himself and Retinue; he had the Liberty of a curious Garden and delightful Walks, and was for his Exercise permitted the Freedom of hunting in a large Park excellently stored with Game of all sorts, and had Horses likewise provided for his Diversion, and for his Chariots; and to make his Life more easie, such of his Servants as were willing to follow his Fortune, had the Freedom of attending upon his Person; continual messages of kindness also, from time to time, were brought him from *Seleucus*, requesting him to support the present Restraint of his Liberty cheartfully, assuring him, that so soon as *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* should arrive at Court, the Conditions and Articles of restoring him to his Liberty should be perfected.

But *Demetrius* had learnt to give little credit to these deluding pretences, and therefore so soon as he was fallen into the misfortune of this Captivity, he sent express Command to his Son *Antigonus*, and to his Captains and Friends, at *Athens* and *Corinth*, that they should give no manner of credit to any Letters written to them in his name, though they were sealed with his own Signet, but, that looking upon him as if he were already dead, they should reserve what was left of his Empire for *Antigonus*, and esteem Him as their lawful King.

As for *Antigonus*, he received the sad News of his Father's Captivity, with all the Testimonies of a most afflictive Sorrow; he put himself into deep Mourning, and writ the most passionate and tender Letters to *Seleucus*, and the rest of the Kings, that his Grief could dictate; he offered not only whatever they had left in the World, but Himself to be a Hostage for the Liberty of the King his Father. Several other Princes, and divers Cities also, became Intercessors for his Freedom: only *Lyfimachus*, by his Embassadors, basely offered a large Sum of Money to *Selucus* to take away his Life; but by this barbarous Proposal he rendered him self most detestable to *Seleucus*, to whom he was sufficiently odious before; nevertheless he still protracted the time of his Deliverance, resolving, as he pretended, that he should owe it to the Intercession of *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*.

Demetrius, to whom Misfortunes had been Customary, grew so familiar with This, that by long continuance, it became habitually easie. At first he accustomed himself to frequent Exercises, Hunting, Horse-races and such other Divertisements as were permitted him, but by degrees he came to disuse them, and applied himself to Dice and Drinking; and to divert the Importunity of his melancholy Thoughts, with which he was haunted when Sober, he took the Remedy of Intemperance, a Cure worse than the Disease; and whether This was the Reason, (1) or that this sort of Life was what he most naturally affected, and judged that he had committed an Error in suffering

(1) The End all great Commanders propose to themselves is, *recedant*. *Demetrius* enjoyed That in his Captivity, which he could never find at the Head of his Armies, and Tranquillity, *ut in otia tuta*

himself

himself to be diverted from it by his mad and vain Ambition, which had created so much trouble to Himself and Others; and that He, who had so restlessly toiled in the Pursuit of real Happiness, by Sea and Land, in mighty Fleets, and formidable Armies, now thought he had found it where he least expected it, in Repose and Tranquility. (1) For what other Fruit can those miserable Princes, who sink into such a pernicious Disposition of Mind, and so grossly abuse Themselves, what other Fruit can they reap from all their Toils and Hazards, but the Loss of Honour, and Virtue, which are sacrificed to imaginary Pleasures, and of which they never can arrive at a real Enjoyment?

Demetrius having thus continued three Years a Prisoner in *Chersonesus*, for want of Exercise, and by indulging himself in Intemperance, in the fifty fourth Year of his Age fell sick of a Distemper, which ended not but with his Life: And *Seleucus* was extremely censured for making such Professions of Kindness, and restoring his Liberty to this Unfortunate Prince, but not performing them; and herein he did not imitate the bravery of *Dromichetes* of *Thrace*, who not only treated *Lyfmachus*, when he was his Prisoner, nobly and like a King, but quickly restored him to his former condition of Liberty.

And now we must attend the Unfortunate *Demetrius* with our last service to his Funerals, which,

(1) *Plutarch* sets forth here in its natural Colours, that Folly and Madness of Princes, who spend all their Days in the Fatigues and Hazards of War. They forego That which is Good, Honourable and Virtuous, to satisfy their Ambition, and indulge themselves in

Wantonness and Luxury; 'till at last they are convinced that they have lost the Substantial for the Imaginary; and that they have no real Enjoyment even of those imaginary Pleasures, after all the Labour and Pains they have been at in the Pursuit of them.

suitable

suitable to his Life, were very pompous and magnificent. For his Son *Antigonus* understanding that his Ashes were coming over from *Syria*, he went with a noble Fleet to the Isles of the *Archipelagus* to meet them, and caused them to be deposited in an Urn of massy Gold. All the Cities, where they touched in their passage, sent Chaplets to adorn the Urn, and deputed certain of the best of their Citizens in deep Mourning to assist at the funeral Solemnity.

When the Fleet of *Antigonus* approached the harbour of *Corinth*, the Urn covered with Purple, and a Royal Crown upon it, was placed upon the Poop of the Admiral Gally, a Troop of young Noblemen and Persons of Quality attended in Arms upon the Key to receive it at landing; and *Xenophon* the celebrated Musician began a Mournful Song in praise of the Dead, to which the Rowers in sorrowful Ejaculations made Responses, their Oars all the while in their Stroaks keeping time with the doleful Cadences of the Musick.

Antigonus, who appeared all in tears and mourning, moved the Universal Compassion of the numerous Spectators; and the Crowns and other Trophies of Honour being left at *Corinth*, the Urn was conveyed to *Demetria*, a City to which *Demetrius* had given his name, after it had been built by his direction, and peopled with the Inhabitants of the small Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Folchos*.

Demetrius left no other Children by his Queen *Philla* but *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*, but he had two other Sons, Both of his own Name, One whereof was surnamed the *Meagre*, by a *Sclavonian* Lady, and the other, who reigned in *Cyrene*, by *Ptolemais*; He had also *Alexander* by Queen *Deiadamia*, who died in *Egypt*; and there are Some who will have it, that he had also a Son by *Euridice* whose name

was

DEMETRIUS.

235

was *Coriabus*. To conclude, the Descendants of *Demetrius* in a continued Succession of Kings, enjoyed the Crown of *Macedon*, down to *Perseus*, who was the last, and was vanquished and led in Triumph by the *Romans*. And now having represented the Tragedy with which *Macedon* hath furnished us, it is time to take a view of That which we expect from *Rome*.



THE



THE

L I F E

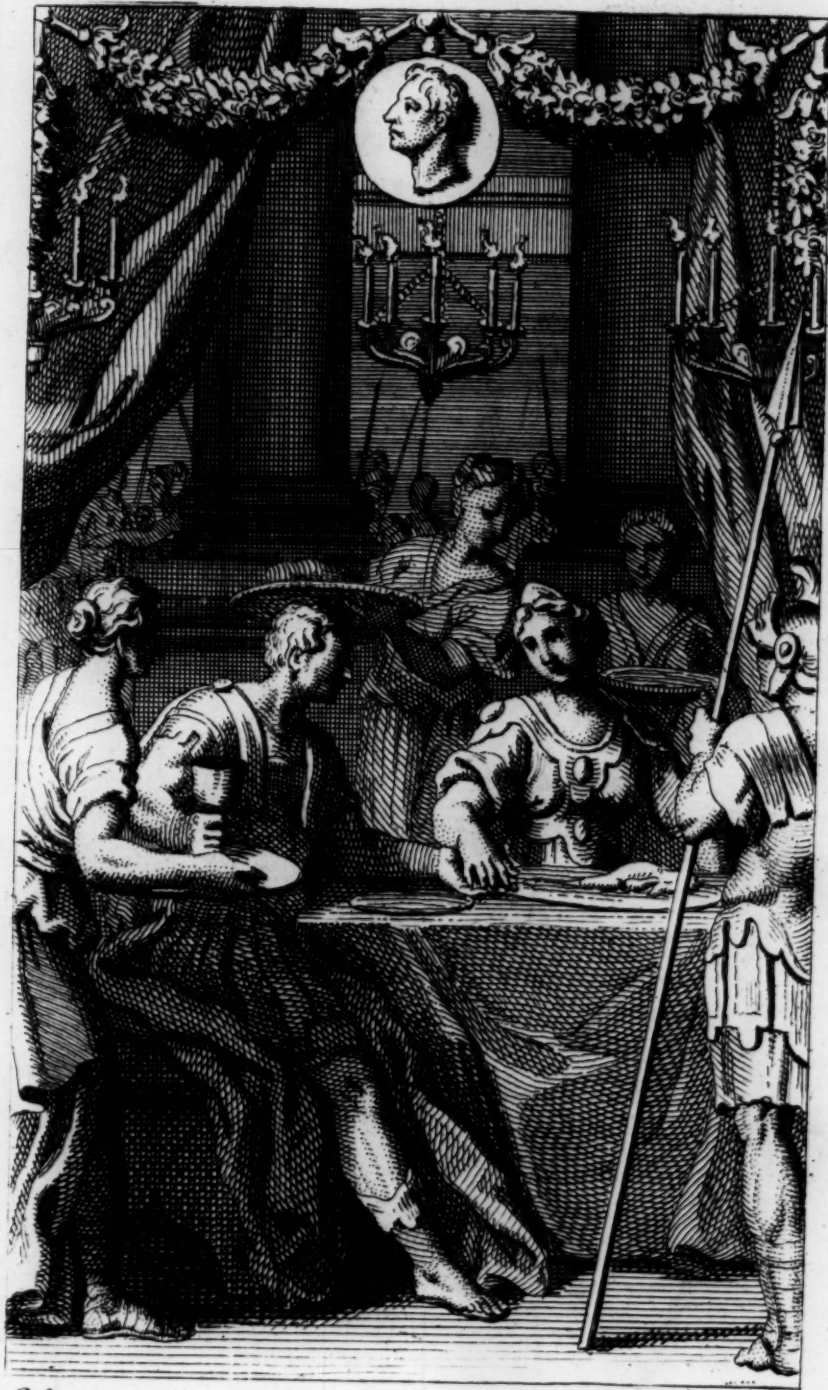
OF

MARCUS ANTONIUS.



HE Grand-Father of *Antony* was the famous Pleader, whom *Marius* put to Death for having taken part with *Sylla*; His Father was *Antony* Surnamed the *Cretan*, not the Same with Him that was so celebrated and esteemed for his Skill in publick Affairs, but a worthy good Man, and particularly remarkable for his Liberality, which may appear from This single Action. He was not very Rich, and withal diverted from the Exercise of his good Nature by his Wife. One day a Friend of His that stood in need of Money came to borrow of him. But *Antonius* having none to lend, ordered his Servant to put some Water in a Silver Bason, and bring it to him. The Servant obeying his Commands, he took the Bason, and lathering his Face, as if he was going to shave himself, he sent away the Servant upon another Errand, and gave his Friend the Bason, desiring him to make what use he pleas'd of it.

Next



L. Cheron Inv.

Vol. 7: p. 236.

G. V. Gucht Sculp
44



N
Upro
Anto
solve
ackn
Pard
Cæsa
was
that
his E
the v
put t
Con
and
bore
Lent
tion
Mor
ny,
late
As fo
beau
fell i
ship
who
cessit
Who
fo E
was
hund
whic
ther,
his E
with
sturb
prod
mad
Caba

Next Morning the whole Family was in an Uproar, and great Inquiry made after the Baron. *Antonius* seeing his Wife in a great Passion, and resolved to put all her Servants to the Question, he acknowledged what he had done, and begged her Pardon. His Wife was *Julia* of the Family of the *Cæsars*, who for her Discretion and fair Behaviour was not inferior to the most celebrated Ladies of that time. It was under Her that *Antony* received his Education, after the Death of his Father, when she was re-married to *Cornelius Lentulus*, who was put to death by *Cicero* for having been of *Catiline's* Conspiracy. This probably was the first ground and occasion of that mortal grudge that *Antony* bore *Cicero*, who also pretended that the Body of *Lentulus* was denied Burial, 'till by great Application made to *Cicero's* Wife it was granted to his Mother *Julia*. But This was a downright Calumny, for none of Those who suffered in the Consulate of *Cicero* had the Right of Burial denied them. As soon as *Antony* was grown up, he proved a very beautiful Youth, but by the worst of Misfortunes fell into the Acquaintance, and made a strict Friendship with *Curio*, a Man abandoned to his pleasures; who, to make *Antony's* dependance of greater necessity, plunged him into all the inconveniencies of Whoring and Drinking, and made his Expences so Extravagant, that he contracted a Debt that was very shameful in one of his age, even two hundred and fifty Talents. *Curio* was his Surety, which coming to the knowledge of *Curio's* Father, he took an occasion to dismiss *Antony* from his house. Soon after This he engaged himself with *Clodius*, the most insolent and turbulent Disturber of the Government that That Age had produced; but not being able long to endure his madness, and withal apprehensive of the Powerful Cabal against *Clodius*, he left *Italy*, and travelled

into Greece, where he spent his time in warlike Exercises, and in the Study of Eloquence. (1) He affected much the Asiatick way of speaking, which was most in fashion then, and had most resemblance to his temper, which was very Rhodomantade and brave, very Ambitious and unequal. After some stay in Greece, he was invited by Gabinius the Proconsul to make a Campaign in Syria, which at first he refused, not being willing to serve in a private Character, but receiving a Commission to command the Horse, he went along with him. His first Service was against Aristobulus, who had prevailed with the Jews to Rebel. He himself was the first that scal'd the Walls, and on the strongest side of the Town, beat him from all his Forts, and in a pitcht Battel overcame him, though much inferior in number, put most of them to the Sword, and took Aristobulus and his Son Prisoners. This War ended, Gabinius was solicited by Ptolemy to restore him to his Kingdom of Egypt, and a promise made of ten thousand Talents reward; most of the Officers were against this Enterprize, and Gabinius Himself did not much approve it, though shrewdly tempted by the ten thousand Talents, which had a powerful Influence over him. But Antony, desirous of engaging in brave Actions, and willing to gratifie a Petitioning King, was resolved to use all his Interest with Gabinius to persuade

(1) Cicero tells us in his Brutus that there were two sorts of Style called the Asiatick. *Unum sententiosum, & argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus. & severis, quam concinnis, & venustis. . . aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum, quam verbis volucre. atque incitatum, quali nunc est Asia tota; nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato, & faceto* genere Verborum. And he adds that these two sorts of Style are fitter for young Men, and not grave enough for Orators somewhat advanced in Years. For these Reasons Hortensius, who equally excelled in both these Kinds, was universally applauded in his younger Years, but had not the like Success as he grew older.

him to the Expedition, wherein he succeeded to his Wishes. All were of opinion that the March to *Pelufium* was of more dangerous consequence than any thing else that could probably happen in the whole Enterprize; for they were to pass over a deep Sand, where no fresh Water was to be hoped for, all along the Marshes of *Serbonis*, which the *Egyptians* give out to be the hollow Canal through which *Typhon* takes his Breath, and is in truth an Eruption caused by the over-flowing of the *Red Sea*, which in those Parts is separated from the *Mediterranean* but by a small Neck of Land. But *Antony* being ordered thither with a Party of Horse, did not only make himself Master of the Passes, but even of the strong City of *Pelufium*, took in the Citadel, and by this means rendered the March secure to the Army, and the way to Victory not uneasy to the General. The Enemy soon received a Benefit from *Antony's* insatiate Thirst after Glory, for when *Ptolemy* had entered *Pelufium* in great Rage and Malice against the *Egyptians*, designing to put them every one to the Sword, *Antony* positively withstood him, and hinder'd the Execution. In great and frequent Skirmishes and Battels many were the Proofs he gave of his personal Valour and military Conduct, but never did it more plainly appear than in that Action of his, when wheeling about he attack'd the Rear of the Enemy, and gave opportunity to Them that charg'd the Front to obtain an entire Victory, for which he received both Rewards and Honours. His Humanity towards the Corps of *Archelaus*, who fell in the Action, recommended him still more to the *Egyptians*. He had been engaged to him by the Rights of Hospitality, and as he was compelled by the Duty of his Service to fight against him whilst he was living, so as soon as he heard he was dead, he caused his Body to be searched after, and having found it in the

the Field he took care to have it interred with royal Pomp, and honoured the Interment with magnificent Obsequies. Upon these and many other Considerations, the *Alexandrians* spoke of him with infinite Respect, and the *Roman* Soldiers looked upon him as one of most worthy Qualifications; to compleat all, he was a Man of excellent Shape and Mien, his Beard was of a comely growth, his Forehead large, his Nose was of the *Roman* Shape, and something he had in his Countenanc of Greatness, that made him seem to resemble the Statue and Medals we have of *Hercules*; and it was an ancient Tradition that the *Antonies* were descended of *Hercules*, by a Son of His called *Anteon*; and this Opinion he endeavoured to confirm by affecting the Likeness of him both in his Mien and Dress; for whensoever he appeared in publick he wore his Vest girt low about the Hips, a broad Sword on his Side, and over All a large course Plad or Mantle. What might seem to Some very insupportable, as Vain-glory, Raillery, Drinking in Publick, frequenting the common Soldiers Tables and Eating-places, made him the Delight and Pleasure of the whole Army. He was very agreeable in his Amours, gained many Friends by the assistance he gave them in the carrying on of their Intrigues, and could without Offence hear them rally him upon his Own. The generous Temper which he was of, in disposing of his Gratuities with an open and liberal Hand to the Soldiers and his Friends, gave him a fair Opportunity of making his Fortune, and was very advantageous to him in establishing him in his new Honours and Employments, from which it is improbable he ever could have fallen, but by a thousand Follies which he committed daily. One Instance of his Liberality I must relate: He had ordered to one of his Friends twenty five thousand Drachmas, and his Steward wondring

wondring at the Extravagance of the Sum laid all the Silver in a heap, on purpose for him to see it as he passed by, that he might Himself be a Judge of his own Profuseness. Accordingly when he had casually cast his Eyes upon it he asked his Steward what it was for? and when he was answered *that it was the Sum he had ordered as a Present for such a Person*, Antony perceiving the Malice of the Man, replied, *I thought I had ordered much more, it is too little, pray let the Sum be doubled.* But enough of This. The Citizens of *Rome* were divided into two Parties, They that seemed to favour the Senate followed *Pompey*, who was then present; the Others that consider'd the Interest of the People sheltered themselves under the Authority of *Cæsar*, who was then making War in *Gaul*. *Curio* the Friend of *Antony* having changed his Party, and devoted himself to *Cæsar*, brought over *Antony* to his Service, and the Authority which he had gained by his Eloquence and great Expences, which were constantly supplied by *Cæsar*, gave him Opportunity of making his Friend *Antony* first Tribune of the People, and then Augur. *Antony*, as soon as he was got into Power, found himself capable of rendring no small Services to *Cæsar*. In the first Place he opposed the Consul *Marcellus*, who had designed some old Legions for *Pompey*, and a Power to raise new ones; at the same time he got it decreed, that the Forces then on Foot should be sent into *Syria*, and added to the Army there under the Command of *Gabinus*, who was carrying on the War against the *Parthians*, and that no one, as they should answer it at their Peril, should give in their Names to serve under *Pompey*. Next finding that *Pompey's* Faction would not suffer *Cæsar's* Letters to be received or read in the Senate, by vertue of his Office he read them publickly, and succeeded so well, that Many were brought to

change their Mind, and to declare that *Cæsar's* Demands were both just and reasonable; at length two Questions being started, the One, *whether Pompey should dismiss His Army*, the Other, *if Cæsar His*: Some were for the Former, for the Latter All, except some Few; whereupon *Antony* stood up and put the Question, *if it would be agreeable to them that both Pompey and Cæsar should dismiss their Armies*; which Proposal was approved of with great Acclamations, and *Antony* desired, after much Honour received, to put it to the Vote; but This was opposed by the Consuls, and *Cæsar's* Friends making some new Proposals, which did not carry the least Appearance of Unreasonableness, were browbeaten by *Cato*, and *Antony* Himself commanded to leave the Senate by *Lentulus* the Consul. He gave them many a bitter Curse at his Departure, and disguising himself in a Servant's Habit, accompanied only with *Quintus Cassius* in a hired Chariot, he went straight away to *Cæsar*. They were no sooner arrived, but great were the Complaints they made, *That Affairs at Rome were transacted without any Order or Justice, that the Privilege of speaking in the Senate was deny'd to the Tribunes, and that He who asserted the Common Right of the People was in imminent Danger of his Life*. *Cæsar* took hold of this Pretence to march his Army into *Italy*; and upon this Hint it was that *Cicero* writes in his *Philippicks*, that (1) *Antony* was as much the Cause of the Civil War, as ever *Helen* was of the Trojan. (2) But this had

(1) This Passage is in the second *Philippick*. *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic Reipublica Causa belli, causa pestis atque exilii fuit. Cicero* by this Comparison of *Antony* with *Helen*, artfully reflects upon the infamous Life of that Tribune.

(2) This Reflection of *Plu-*

tarch seems very just, and reasonable. *Cæsar* did not run into that Extremity, *quod Intercessio Antonii neglecta, jus Tribunitium Sublatum, circumscriptus a Senatu esset Antonius*, as *Cicero* pretends *Cæsar* said. It was what he had determined upon before; he had resolved to be Master.

more of Wit in it than Truth, for *Cæsar* was not of so weak a Temper, as to suffer himself to be carried away by a Passion into a Civil War with his Country, upon the sight of *Antony* and *Cassius* seeking Refuge in his Camp, in mean Habit and a Hackney Chariot, without ever having thought or taken his Measures in an Affair of so great Consequence. This indeed was to Him, who had long wanted a Pretence of declaring War, a fair and plausible Occasion; but the true Motive was the Same that formerly set *Alexander* and *Cyrus* at odds with all Mankind, the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the distracted Ambition of being the greatest Man in the Word, which was impracticable for him to be 'till he had reduced *Pompey*. So soon then as he had surprized *Rome*, and driven *Pompey* out of *Italy*, he purposed first to go against the Legions *Pompey* had in *Spain*, and then to have a Fleet in readiness to attend his Motions, leaving the mean-while the Government of *Rome* to *Lepidus* the Prætor, and the Command of the Army to *Antony* Tribune of the People, who was not long in getting the Hearts of his Soldiers, eating and drinking himself with them, and making them Presents to the utmost of his Abilities. But on the other side he wanted not his Enemies, he was too lazy to inform himself in the Complaints of the Injured, and was impatient in any thing of Business, and his Familiarity with other People's Wives gave him an ill Reputation. In short, the Government of *Cæsar* (which in it self was little better than Tyrannical) was by the Indiscretion and Insolence of his Friends, rendered insupportable: And *Antony*, as he had the greatest Power in the Army, so he committed the most notorious Insolencies, and consequently lay under the heaviest Reproaches. But *Cæsar* at his Return from *Spain* winked at his Faults, not thinking fit to disoblige a Soldier that

could suffer all Fatigue, was very brave of his Person, and an experienced Commander. *Cæsar* going Aboard at *Brundisium*, sailed over the *Ionian* Sea with a few Troops, and sent back the Fleet with Orders to *Antony* and *Gabinus*; to embark the Army, and land as soon as might be in *Macedonia*. *Gabinus* having no Mind to put to Sea, and being apprehensive of the Winter-Season, was forced to March his Army round about by Land; but *Antony*, being more afraid lest *Cæsar* might suffer some great Inconvenience from the number of his Enemies, who pressed him hard, beat back *Libo*, who was at Anchor with a Fleet in the Mouth of the Haven of *Brundisium*; for he Manned out several small Pinnaces and other Boats, with which he encompassed each of *Libo's* Gallies, and so forced them to retire, which gave him an Opportunity of putting aboard twenty thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, and so he put out to Sea. The Enemy having espied him, made up to him; but he escaped this Danger by the favour of the South-Wind, which was so high that the Enemy's Fleet was not able to live in so rough a Water. But the same Wind drove him at first upon a Ridge of Rocks, where the Sea wrought so high, that there was no hope of escaping Shipwrack, when all on a sudden it turned about to the South-West, and blew from Land to the main Sea, where *Antony* sailing in security, saw the Coast all covered with the Wreck of the Enemy's Fleet; for the Gallies of *Pompey* had been miserably tossed up and down, and many of them sunk. *Antony* making a right use of this Disaster took many Prisoners, and much Booty. He likewise made himself Master of the Town of *Lyffus*, and by the seasonable arrival of so great a Recruit, gave Heart to the Affairs of *Cæsar*. There was no Engagement in which he did not signalize himself; twice he stopped the Army

in

in its Flight, led them back to the Charge, and gained the Victory, so that his Reputation, next to *Cæsar's*, was the greatest of any in the Army. And what Opinion *Cæsar* himself had of him, did well appear at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, which was to determine Who should be Emperor of the World. He chose to lead the Right Wing Himself, and committed the charge of the Left to *Antony*, as to the most experienced Officer of all that served under him. After the Battel, *Cæsar* being created Dictator, went in pursuit of *Pompey*, and sent *Antony* to *Rome*, with the Character of Tribune of the People, who by vertue of his Office is in Power next to the Dictator, when present, and in his absence rules in Chief: For upon the Election of a Dictator, all other Magistrates cease to exercise any Authority in *Rome*. The young *Dolabella*, who was also Tribune of the People at that time, and a great Promoter of new Projects, was for enacting a Law, to rescind the registered Debts, and would needs persuade *Antony* to join with him, who was his Friend, and forward enough to promote any thing that was agreeable to the generality of the People, but *Asinius* and *Trebellius* did all they could to divert him from it. On a sudden, *Antony* was seized with a violent fit of Jealousie, and shrewdly suspected that there was a secret criminal Commerce carried on betwixt *Dolabella* and his Wife, who was his first Cousin, being the Daughter of *Caius Antonius*, who had been *Cicero's* Collegue when he was Consul. Wherefore uniting himself to *Asinius* he declared open War against *Dolabella*, who had got Possession of the *Forum*, in order to get his Law passed. The Senate ordered *Antony* to oppose him by Force, whereupon he attacked him, killed many of his Men, and lost some of his Own.

This Action rendered him very ungracious with the People, at the same time that his way of Life made him loathed and detested by all Men of Probity and Virtue, who, as *Cicero* saith, abominated his Midnight Revelling, his wild Expences, and his rolling from one little Whore to another, his Naps in the Day, and his Walks to digest his Debauches, and then at Night again his Entertainments and Balls, for the solemnizing the Nuptials of some Comedian, or Buffoon. It is reported, that drinking all Night at the Wedding of *Hippias* the Comedian, and on the Morning being to harangue the People, he ventured out, over-charged as he was, and vomited before them all, one of his Friends receiving it in his Gown. *Sergius*, the Comedian, was He who had the greatest Power with him; and *Cytheris*, a Lady of the same Profession, the Woman that had his Heart. She, when he went his Progress, (1) accompanied him in a Litter, and had her Equipage, not in any thing inferior to his Mother's; the World was scandalized at the great Pomp of his Travelling Plate,

(1) *Cicero* takes Notice of this Equipage in the tenth Letter of the tenth Book of Letters to *Atticus*, and represents it as still more infamous. *Hic tamen Citheridem secum aperta lectica portat, alteram Uxorem. Septem præterea conjunctæ Lecticæ amicarum sunt, an amicorum.* He carries *Citheris* up and down with him in an open Litter, and his Wife in Another. These are followed by seven more filled with his He, shall I say, or She Mistresses? *Dubois* and *Lipsius* have restored the Text in this Place from a certain MS. where it is *alteram uxorem.* He causeth *Cytheris* to be born in an open Litter as if she was his Wife. For to expose her

thus in an open Litter, was as much as owning her for his Wife. Some I confess are for the Reading as it stands in the Text, at which I am surprized, *alteram Uxorem* certainly appears to be most genuine. Is it to be thought a Woman of *Fulvia's* Spirit would have stooped so low as to have made One in such a Gang? Besides, it appears by what follows, that *Antony* was not married at the writing of this Letter, which was in the Consulate of *Marcellus*, and that he gave over that disorderly Life before he wedded *Fulvia*, who had an absolute Power over him, and governed him as she pleased.

which

which was more proper for the Ornaments of a Triumph, than the Convenience of a Journey; at his causing Tents to be set up every where in the Way by Rivers sides, and in Groves, for his dining with all the Luxury imaginable; and that he made his Chariot to be drawn by Lions, and lodg'd his little Whores, and singing Wenches, where-soever he pass'd, in the Houses of grave reserved Men, and Women famous for their Matron-like Behaviour. And it seem'd very unreasonable that *Cæsar* out of *Italy* should fare hard, and with great Fatigue and Danger pursue the Remainder of a dangerous War, whilst Others, under his Authority, left no Insolence unpractis'd upon their Fellow-Citizens; and This undoubtedly was the Occasion of great Trouble in *Rome*, and gave the Soldiers Encouragement to injure and plunder the People; upon This it is probable that *Cæsar* at his Return acquitted *Dolabella*, and being created the third time Consul, took not *Antony*, but *Lepidus* for Collegue. *Pompey's* House being to be sold, *Antony* bought it, but when they came to ask him for the Purchase Money he fell into a Passion, and declared, that for That reason he would not follow *Cæsar* into *Libya*, because his former Services had not been recompens'd as they deserved.] However it is plain that *Cæsar's* dislike of that Course of Life, and declaring how much he was offended at it, was a great means of his Amendment, for he took up soon after, and married *Fulvia* the Widow of *Clodius* that Firebrand of Sedition, a Woman not born for Spinning or Houswifry, nor one that could be content with the Power of ruling a private Husband, but a Lady capable of advising a Magistrate, and of ruling the General of an Army, so that *Cleopatra* had great Obligations to her for having taught *Antony* to be so good a Servant, he coming into her Hands tame and broken in all

Obedience to the Commands of a Mistress. *Antony* had many Devices by which he used to entertain and divert her from her more serious way of Carriage. As when *Cæsar* after his Victory in Spain was on his return, *Antony*, among the rest, went out to meet him, and a Rumour being spread that *Cæsar* was killed, and the Enemy marching into *Italy*, he returned to *Rome*, and disguising himself, came to her by Night, as a Servant that brought Letters from *Antony*; but she with great Impatience, before she received the Letter, asked if *Antony* were well? Instead of an Answer he gave her the Letter, and as she was opening it took her about the Neck and kissed her. This little Story, out of many of the same Nature, we thought fit to give, by which the Reader may make a guess of his Humour. There was no Body of Quality in *Rome* that did not go some Days Journey to meet *Cæsar* in his return from *Spain*; but *Antony* was the best received of any, admitted to ride the whole Journey with him in his Coach; behind came *Bru-tus*, *Albinus*, and *Octavius* his Sister's Son, well known afterward by the Name of *Augustus Cæsar*. *Cæsar* being created the fifth time Consul, without any Demur chose *Antony* for his Colleague, but designing himself to quit the Consulate to *Dolabella*, he acquainted the Senate with his Resolution; but *Antony* opposed it with all his Might, and saying all the bitter things of *Dolabella*, and receiving as injurious Language in return, *Cæsar* could bear with the Indecency no longer, but referred the Consideration of this Matter to another time; and the next time it was proposed, *Antony* proclaimed, that the Omens taken from the Flight of Birds were against his Promotion; so that *Cæsar* was constrained to leave *Dolabella* very much discomposed; and it is credible, that *Cæsar* had no great Opinion of either of them; for when one of his

Friends

Friends accused Them as suspected Persons, and Men capable of some desperate Undertaking, he answered, *It is not those jolly well-dressed Gentlemen, but the Pale and Meagre of whom I am apprehensive;* meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*; who afterwards conspired his Death, and murdered him. — And *Antony* Himself, without designing it, gave them the most plausible Pretence they could desire for such an Undertaking. The *Romans* were then celebrating their Festival called the *Lupercalia*, when *Cæsar* in his Triumphal Habit, and seated on a kind of Throne in the Market-place, was a Spectator of the Sports. The Custom is, that many Young Noblemen, and some of the Magistrates Themselves, anointed with Oyl, and having Straps of white Leather in their Hands, run about and strike every one they meet. *Antony* was One of These, but omitting the Performance of what was required by the Original Institution, took a Laurel Garland, and having wreathed the Diadem about it, made towards the Throne, and being lifted up by his Companions, would have put it upon the Head of *Cæsar*, as if by that Ceremony he were declared King; but *Cæsar* seemingly refused the Offer, and was applauded by the People with great Shouts for so doing. This did not deter *Antony* from persisting in his Design; so that it remained a Contest for some time between Him and *Cæsar*, the One offering, and the Other refusing, with this Difference, that very Few seemed to relish the One, and almost One and All applauded the Other. This indeed is very remarkable, that the People should endure patiently all that a Kingly Government could impose, and at the same time dread the Name of King, as the utter Destruction of their Liberty. *Cæsar*, very much discomposed at what had past, stepped down from the Tribunal, and laying bare his Neck, said, *strike who will*. The Crown at last was put upon one of his Statues,

but

but the Tribunes took it off, to the great Satisfaction of the People, who followed them home with continual Shouts and Applauses: *Cæsar* represented This, and afterwards turned them out of their Office. These Passages gave great Encouragement to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who in making choice of trusty Friends for such an Enterprize, were thinking to engage *Antony*; every one approved the Man, except *Trebonius*, who informed them that *Antony* and He had been very intimate in the late Journey they took to meet *Cæsar*, and that he had let fall several Words concerning the Matter now in Hand, on purpose to sound him; that *Antony* very well understood him, but did not at all approve of the Discourse; howsoever the Matter was never revealed to *Cæsar*, but still kept as a great Secret. The Conspirators then proposed that *Antony* should die with him, which *Brutus* would in no wise consent to, not thinking fit that an Action undertaken in Defence of Justice and the Laws, should be liable to so foul an Imputation. *Antony* therefore, who was to be considered as a Man of Bodily Strength, and one that bore great Office in the State, was, at *Cæsar's* Entry to the Senate, to be amused without in a Discourse of pretended Business. Just as it was ordered *Cæsar* was Slain, and *Antony* surprized at the Action took the Disguise of a Servant's Habit, and retired; but understanding that the Conspirators had assembled in the Capitol, and had no further Design upon any one, he gave them his Honour they might come down in safety, and sent his Son for an Hostage. That Night *Cassius* supped at *Antony's* House, and *Brutus* with *Lepidus*. The next day he called the Senate, where he proposed an Act of Oblivion for all that had passed, and that Provinces should be assigned to *Brutus* and *Cassius*. The Senate confirmed these two Propositions, and ratified every thing that

that had been enacted by *Cæsar*. Thus *Antony* went out of the Senate with that Reputation and Esteem that never Man had gained before him; for it was apparent to the World that he had taken away all the Grounds of a Civil War, and had shewn himself an able Minister of State, that knew how to unravel and compose Matters of so great Danger and Difficulty. But these temperate Counsels were soon infected with Pride, upon the Thoughts of being the chief Favourite of the People, which made him imagine he should soon be the first Man in the State if he could but once supplant *Brutus*. Wherefore when *Cæsar's* Body was exposed in the *Forum*, He took upon him to pronounce the Funeral Oration, as it was customary in the like Cases, and perceiving the People to be infinitely affected with what he had said in Commendation of *Cæsar*, he raised their Pity, and enlarged upon every Point that could move Compassion. To compleat all, he took the Robe from off the dead Corps, and held it up, exposing it all bloody, and pierced through with many Stabs, calling the Conspirators Villains, and bloody Murtherers. His Harangue had so great an Effect upon the Multitude, that they would not defer the Solemnities of the Funeral, but making a Pile of Tables and Forms in the very *Forum*, set Fire to it; and every one taking a Brand, ran in great Fury to the Conspirators Houses, with a Resolution to burn them alive. Upon This Tumult *Brutus* and his whole Party left the City, and *Cæsar's* Friends joined themselves to *Antony*. *Calphurnia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, trusted her self to his Conduct, together with all her Treasure, which amounted to no less than four thousand Talents. He got also into his Hands all *Cæsar's* Papers, wherein were contained Journals of all he had done, and Draughts of what he designed to do; which *Antony* made good Use of; for by this Means he made what Of-

ficers

ficers he pleased, brought whom he thought fit into the Senate, recalled Some from Exile, freed Others out of Prison, and all This as ordered so by *Cæsar*. The *Romans*, by way of Raillery, called All that received any Benefit by this Artifice (1) *Charonites*, who, if put to prove their Patents, must have Recourse to the Registers of the Dead. In short, *Antony's* Behaviour in *Rome* was very absolute, He Himself was Consul, and his two Brothers in two Posts of great Authority. *Caius*, the One, being Prætor, and *Lucius*, the Youngest, Tribune of the People.

While Matters went thus in *Rome*, the young *Cæsar*, *Julius Cæsar's* Sister's Son, and by Testament left his Heir, arrived at *Rome* from *Apollonia*, where he resided when his Uncle was killed. The first Thing he did was to visit *Antony*, as one his Uncle had the greatest Obligation to. He spoke to him concerning the Money that was in his Hands, and reminded him of the Legacy *Cæsar* had made of seventy five *Drachms* to every *Roman* Citizen: *Antony* at first took little Notice of him, but considering him as a raw unexperienced Youth, told him, he was equally void of Friends, and common Sense, in taking upon him the Burden of *Cæsar's* Executorship, and Inheritance.

Cæsar not suffering himself to be paid in that Coin, insisted on the Money, whereupon *Antony* used him injuriously, thwarted his Interest upon all Occasions, opposed him in his Election of Tribune, and when he attempted (2) to carry into

(1) They were likewise called *Orcini*. *Quos Orcinos vulgus vocabat*, saith *Suetonius*. So they called those Slaves who were enfranchised by their Master's Wills made on their Death-bed.

(2) For the Senate had granted to *Cæsar* a right of using in all

the Theaters a Seat, or Chair of Gold, adorned with a Crown of the same Metal, and with several precious Stones, such as were usually appropriated to the Deities. *Dion. Lib. xliv.* *Octavius* was not for losing so distinguishing a Privilege.

the Theater the Golden Chair, granted by the Senate to his Father, he threatned to send him to Prison if he desisted not from solliciting the People. But when he found *Octavius* applying himself to *Cicero*, and all Those who hated *Antony*, and that by Them he was recommended to the Senate, while he himself courted the People, and had drawn all the Veterans out of their respective Quarters, and formed them into a Body; then he began to be so apprehensive, that he gave him a Meeting in the Capitol, where they conferred some time together, and at length came to an Accommodation.

That Night *Antony* had a very unlucky Dream, for he fancied that his right hand was Thunderstruck, and some few Days after he was informed that *Cæsar* designed upon his Life. *Cæsar* would have justified himself, but was not believed, so that the Breach was now made as wide as ever, whilst each of them posted Day and Night all about *Italy* to engage the old Troops that lay scatter'd in their Quarters, and great were the Promises that were made to the Legions that were yet standing. *Cicero* was of great Reputation in *Rome*, and made use of all his Art to exasperate the People against *Antony*, and at length persuaded the Senate to declare him a publick Enemy, and to send to *Cæsar* the Rods and Axes, and all other Marks of Honour, that are usually given to the Prætor; and withal an Order was given to *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were their Consuls, to drive *Antony* out of *Italy*. The Armies engaged nigh to *Modena*, and *Cæsar* Himself was present. *Antony* was defeated, though both the Consuls were slain. *Antony* in his Flight was pursued by all the Misfortune imaginable, and the worst Shape it appeared in was Famine, but it was in these Extremities that he naturally fell into a Behaviour, which made him appear a Man much
above

above himself; and *Antony* in Misfortune was not easily distinguished from a virtuous Man. It is no extraordinary Matter for Men that fall into great Difficulties to reason right, and understand what by their Duty and Honour they are bound to do and suffer: Yet there are but very few, who in great Extremities have Courage enough to trust to their own Judgment, either to imitate what they admire, or avoid what they condemn, but abandon themselves to their beloved Ease, and for very want of Industry become irresolute. *Antony* was a most illustrious Example of Patience to the Army, who, accustomed to so much Luxury and Delicacy, could be contented to drink stinking Water, and feed upon wild Fruits and Roots, nay it is reported they devoured the very Barks of Trees, and in passing over the *Alps* they lived upon the Flesh of Beasts that Man had never before tasted. His Design was to join *Lepidus*, who commanded the Army on the other side of the *Alps*, and who he imagined would stand his sure Friend, he having done him many kind Offices to *Julius Caesar*. He encamped near *Lepidus* his Army, but receiving from him no sort of Encouragement, was resolved to push his Fortune and venture all. His Hair was very long and disordered, nor had he shaved his Beard since his late Defeat; in this Guise, and a mourning Mantle flung over, he came into the Trenches of *Lepidus*, and began to Harangue the Army. Some were moved at his Habit, Others at his Words, that *Lepidus* liking it not, ordered the Trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This raised in the Soldiers a greater sense of Pity, so that they secretly sent *Laelius* and *Clo dius* dressed in Womens Cloaths, and advised *Antony* to attack *Lepidus*'s Trenches, assuring him that the Major Part were disposed to receive him with open Arms, and dispatch *Lepidus* into the Bargain, if he would send them his Orders for so doing. *An-*

Antony would by no means suffer any Violence to be offered to *Lepidus*, but early the next Morning marched at the Head of his Troops, sounded a River which lay between the two Camps, and was the first that flung himself into the Water in order to gain the other side, where he observed *Lepidus's* Soldiers in great Numbers reaching out their Hands to help him, and beating down the Works to make way for him: Being entered the Camp, and finding himself absolute Master, he treated *Lepidus* with great Civility, and gave him the title of Father when he spoke to him, and though he had every thing at his own Command, he left Him the Honour of being called the General. This fair Usage brought over to him *Munatius Plancus*, who was not far off with a considerable Force. Thus being very strong he repassed the *Alps*, and led with him into *Italy* seventeen Legions, and ten thousand Horse, besides six Legions he left in Garrison under the Command of *Varius* one of his familiar Friends, who used to debauch with him, and was therefore surnamed *Cotylon*, (which signifies a Bottle.) *Cæsar* perceiving that *Cicero's* Intention was to re-establish the State in its former Liberty, did soon quit that Party, and by the Mediation of his Friends came once more to a good Understanding with *Antony*. They Both met together with *Lepidus* in a small Island, where the Conference lasted three Days. The Empire of the World was divided amongst them, as if it had been their paternal Inheritance. That which gave them all the Trouble was to agree who should be put to Death, every one intending to destroy his Enemies and to save his Friends. The Thirst of being revenged of their Enemies did in the end take off all manner of desire to preserve their Friends or Relations, which made *Cæsar* sacrifice *Cicero* to *Antony*, *Antony* his Uncle *Lucius* to *Cæsar*, and Both
of

of them easily granted to *Lepidus* the Liberty to murder his own Brother *Paulus*, though there are Some who say it was required of him. I do not believe any thing was ever heard of so barbarous as this Composition, for in this exchange of Blood for Blood, they did not only each of them murder Those that were offered up by the Other Two, but Them also whom They abandoned to the Rage of Others. This Agreement being made, the Army desired that their Confederacy and Friendship might be cemented by some Alliance, accordingly *Cæsar* married *Claudia* the Daughter of *Fulvia* Wife to *Antony*. When that Affair was over, they settled the List of such as had been marked down for Death, amounting in the whole to three hundred Persons. *Antony* insisted that They who were ordered to kill *Cicero*, should cut off his Head and right Hand with which he had writ his Invectives against him, and when they were brought before him, he beheld them with an inward Satisfaction, not being able to contain himself from often smiling at so horrid a Spectacle. After he had satiated himself with the Sight of them, he ordered them to be hung up in the Court where the usual Pleadings were held, not considering that the Affront he designed to the Memory of the Dead redounded to his own Disgrace, who by this barbarous Action dishonoured that Authority which he abused so notoriously. His Uncle *Lucius* being closely pursued took refuge in his Sister's House, where when the Murderers had broke in, and were pressing into her Chamber, she met them at the Door, and holding them by the Hands cried out several times, *Ye shall never kill Lucius Cæsar, 'till you first dispatch Me, Me, who gave your General his Life and Being*; and by this Firmness and Constancy she ordered the matter so well that she saved her Brother.

This

This *Triumvirate* was very hateful to the *Romans*, and *Antony* was most of all to blame, for he was elder than *Cæsar*, and had greater Authority than *Lepidus*, and withal was no sooner settled in his Affairs, but he returned to his Debauch and dissolute way of living. Beside the ill Reputation he had gained by his Intemperance, it was very disadvantageous to him his living in the House of *Pompey* the Great, a Man no less celebrated for his Temperance and Regularity, than for his three Triumphs. They could not without regret see the Doors of that House shut against the Magistrates and Foreign Ministers, who were shamefully refused admittance, while it was open to Players, Juglers, and devouring Flatterers, upon whom he spent the greatest part of those immense Sums which he had accumulated by so many Acts of Violence and Extortion. For they did not only take the Forfeiture of the Estates of Such as had been proscribed, defrauding the poor Widows and Orphans of their Right of Inheritance and Succession, and burdened the People with unreasonable Impositions; but hearing that large Sums of Money, belonging as well to Strangers as Citizens of *Rome*, had been deposited in the hands of the Vestal Virgins, they went and took it away by force. When *Cæsar* perceived that *Antony's* Covetousness and Prodigality were equally insatiable, he demanded a Division to be made of the Revenues. The Army was also divided upon their March into *Macedonia*, where they were going against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, having first committed the Government of *Rome* to *Lepidus*.

When they had taken the Field, and lay encamped within the Sight of the Enemy, *Antony* opposite to *Cassius*, and *Cæsar* to *Brutus*, *Cæsar* did nothing worth relating, but Success and Victory still waited on *Antony*. In the first Battel *Cæsar*

was routed by *Brutus*, and all his Baggage taken, and He Himself very narrowly escaped by Flight. He tells us indeed in his own Commentaries, (1) that by reason of a Dream, which One of his Friends had the preceding Night, he withdrew just before the Charge was given. *Antony* overcame *Cassius*, tho' Some say he was not present at the Engagement, but that he joined them afterwards in the Pursuit. *Cassius* with earnest Entreaty had persuaded his faithful Friend *Pindarus*, not knowing any thing of *Brutus's* good Fortune, to kill him. Shortly after they fought another Battel, in which *Brutus* lost the Day, and slew Himself. *Antony* had almost all the Honour of this Victory, for as much as *Cesar* was sick when the Fight began. When he found the Body of *Brutus* among the Slain, he reproached him with the Death of his Brother *Caius*, who was slain by the Order of *Brutus*, in *Macedonia*, in revenge for the Murder of *Cicero*. However, he charged the Guilt of it upon *Hortensius*, rather than *Brutus*, and therefore ordered Him to be slain upon his Brother's Tomb. He cast his rich purple Mantle upon the dead Body of *Brutus*, and gave in charge to one of his Servants to take care of his Funeral. Some time after being informed that this Servant had not burnt the Mantle with the Corps, and had detained part of the Money which was to be expended in the Funeral, he ordered him to be slain.

Soon after this Victory *Cesar* was conveyed to *Rome*, where it was commonly reported that his Distemper was incurable. *Antony* in the mean time

(1) This Passage ought to be removed out of the Camp, the explained by Another in the Life of *Brutus*, where it is said that *M. Antonius*, a Friend of *Cesar*, having dreamt that he saw a Vision, which directed *Cesar* to be removed out of the Camp, the Vision was immediately obeyed, and he was removed very seasonably. *Dion* saith he was in the Action, but like a sick, Person without his Armour.

made his Progress through the upper Provinces of *Asia*, where he raised Contributions, and passed at the Head of a formidable Army into *Greece*. And the Impositions of necessity were to be very great, since they had engaged that every common Soldier should receive a Donative of five hundred Drachmas.

Antony's Behaviour towards the *Grecians* was at first very obliging, for he was pleased to entertain himself in hearing the learned Men dispute, in seeing their Sports, frequenting their Religious Ceremonies, and shewed a great deal of Equity in deciding of Controversies: He was fond of being stiled *the Lover of Greece*, but above all in being called *the Lover of Athens*, to which City he made very considerable Presents.

The *Megareans*, in imitation of the *Athenians*, must needs invite *Antony* to come and see their Senate-house, which whilst he survey'd, they asked him how he liked it? he told them *it was narrow and ruinous*; he caused an exact Survey to be made of the Temple of *Apollo Pithius*, as if he had design'd to repair it, and indeed he had engaged himself to the Senate so to do; but passing into *Asia*, he forgot all these glorious Projects, and leaving *Lucius Censorinus* in *Greece*, his whole Application was to enrich himself with the Spoils of *Asia*. There Kings every Morning waited his Leisure at his Chamber door, and Queens were rivalling one another, who should make him the greatest Presents, or appear most charming in his Eyes. Thus whilst *Cesar* was engaged in War, and struggling with Seditions in *Rome*, *Antony* at his Ease fell naturally into his old course of life: The *Anaxenores* a set of Harpers, the *Xuthi* a company of Players upon the Flute, and *Metrodorus* a Dancing-Master, with some other Bands of *Asian* Musick, did so much surpass his *Italian* Masters, that they had got

great Credit at Court: Nothing ran in the usual Channels, all Business passing through their Hands, so that all *Asia* was like the City (1) that *Sophocles* speaks of, where

*Joyful Sounds i'th' perfum'd Air
Mix with Groans and cold Despair.*

When he made his Entry into *Ephesus*, the Women met him in the same Habit they wear when they solemnize the Feasts of *Bacchus*, the Men and Boys were drest like Satyrs and Fauns, and quite throughout the Town nothing was to be seen but Spears wreathed about with Ivy, Harps, Flutes and Hautboys, whilst they saluted *Antony* in their Songs by the Name of *Bacchus the gracious and the gentle*; and so indeed he was to Some, but for the most part he was barbarous and inhuman, for he would deprive Persons of Worth and Quality of their Fortunes to gratifie Villains and Flatterers, who would sometimes beg the Estates of Men yet living, pretending they were dead, and obtaining a Grant, take Possession. He gave his Cook the House of a *Magnetian* Citizen, for dressing his Supper well. But when he burthened *Asia* with doubling the Imposts, *Hybreas* the Agent for those Cities made his Remonstrance in very pleasant Language, and not ungrateful to *Antony*, shewing him *that since he thought fit to double their Taxes he would take some care that they might have their Summer and Autumn doubled too, that they might be in a Condition to satisfy his Demands.* Then he added with some Sharp-

(1) The Passage in *Sophocles* is in the first Scene of his *Oedipus*. The Poet speaks there of *Thebes*, which was visited with a destructive Pestilence, by which it was well nigh depopulated. *Asia* felt a still more destructive Pestilence in the Person of *Antony*. *Plutarch* has an excellent Faculty of adding to the Horror of an Idea by one single Citation,

ness and Assurance, *Asia has already furnished two hundred thousand Talents for your Service, which if you have not received, take an account of Them that levied it, but if it be received and you are still in want, we are for ever ruined.* These last Words touched *Antony* to the quick, for he was very ignorant of many things that had been done in his Name; not that in his Nature he was easily to be imposed upon, but by reason he had too great Confidence in the Integrity of Those he employed. He was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of Apprehension; but so soon as he was made sensible of his Faults he was much troubled, and very ready to ask Pardon of Them he had offended. He was very prodigal in his Rewards, and no less severe in his Punishments, but his Generosity was much more extravagant than his Severity. His Rallery was very sharp, but the edge of it was taken off, and rendered inoffensive, by his suffering any thing of Repartee; for he was as well contented to be handsomly rallied, as he was pleased to rally Others. This Freedom had its Inconvenience, for he imagined that those Friends, who used so much Freedom in their Mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any Business of Consequence; not perceiving that these subtle Parasites dress their fulsome Flattery with a little pointed Sauce to make it go down the better, which must have given him a Surfeit had it not been disguised; and great Use was made of this Liberty in Business of Importance, for upon examining any Difficulty, they ordered their Affair so that they might seem not to yield to him out of Complaisance, but because he had a Reach superior to Theirs.

Antony being of this Disposition, the greatest Mischief that could befall him was the Love of *Cleopatra*, which awakened and inflamed many a

hidden dormant Vice, and if there were any Spark of Virtue yet remaining, it stifled it entirely. And thus it was his Love began. Upon his first setting out in his Expedition against the *Parthians*, he sent, and commanded *Cleopatra* to make her personal Appearance in *Cilicia*, there to answer to some Accusations that had been preferred against her, for she was accused of having given great Assistance in the late Wars to *Cassius. Dellius*, who was sent on this Message, had no sooner seen her admirable Beauty, and with what a Quickness and Grace she received him, but he began to consider how impossible it was that so beautiful a Creature should receive any ill Treatment at the Hands of *Antony*, and therefore he behaved himself with all Respect to her, courted her with all Humility to pass (as *Homer* terms it) (1) in her best Attire into *Cilicia*, and intreated her not to be apprehensive of *Antony*, a brave and courteous Soldier. She had great Faith in the Words of *Dellius*, but more in her own Beauty, which having formerly recommended her to *Julius Cæsar* and the young *Pompey*, she did not doubt but it might prove successful with *Antony*. Their Acquaintance was with her when a Girl, young and ignorant in the Arts of Love, but she was now to meet *Antony* in the Flower of her

(1) *Dellius* in this place makes a Parodie upon the 162d Verse of the fourteenth *Iliad*, where *Juno* is deliberating with her self how to deceive *Jupiter* by ensnaring him with Love. At length she resolves to dress her self very fine, and repair to Mount *Ida*

Ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἴδην, εὖ ἐνύνα-
σαν ἑαυτὴν.

Dellius saith only ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κίλ-

κίαν εὖ ἐνύνασαν. From hence we see the great Use the Ancients made of *Homer*, and how well that Poet was known among them, since one single Word out of his Poems awakened their Ideas, and was equivalent to a long formal Narration. Here the εὖ ἐνύνασαν only comprehends all *Juno* had been thinking upon, and what *Dellius* is advising *Cleopatra* to think on likewise.

Age,

Age, with all the Charms of Beauty, and all the Artifice of riper Years: She made great Preparation for her Journey, of Money, Gifts, and other Ornaments of great value, which so wealthy a Kingdom did easily afford, but in her own irresistible Charms lay her great Assurance: Many were the Letters she received from *Antony* to hasten her coming, but she did not seem to make any great account of his Orders. At length she embarked on a small Galley in the River *Cydnus*, the Head of which shined with inlaid Gold, the Sails were of Purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which beat time to the Flutes and Hautboys. She herself lay all along under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold curiously embroidered, dressed as *Venus* is ordinarily represented, and beautiful young Boys like *Cupids* stood on each side to fan her; her Maids were dressed like Sea-Nymphs and Graces, Some steering the Rudder, Some working at the Ropes; the Perfumes diffused themselves from the Vessel to the Shoar, which was all covered with Multitudes meeting and following the Galley, all the People running out of the City to see this uncommon Spectacle. As soon as it was known that she was arrived, *Antony* was left alone upon the Tribunal, and a Rumour was spread that *Venus* was come to feast with *Bacchus* for the common Good of *Asia*. The Moment she landed, *Antony* sent to invite her to Supper, but she thought it more decent that *Antony* should come to Her, who to show his Civility to a Stranger made no difficulty to wait on her. He found the Preparations very magnificent, but nothing was so admirable as the Multitude of Lights, for on a sudden there was let down all together so great a number of Branches with Lights in them so ingeniously disposed, Some in Squares, and Some in Circles, that Fame cannot speak of a greater piece

of Curiosity. The next Day *Antony* invited Her to Supper, and was very desirous to out-do her as well in Magnificence as Contrivance, but he came short of Both, and was so much convinced of it that he began to despise and laugh at his own way of Service. She perceiving that *Antony's* Rallery was very gross, and favoured more of the Soldier than the Courtier, gave her self the liberty to use him in the same manner without any sort of Reserve. *Cleopatra* was not, as is reported, of so surprizing a Beauty, that no one could be compared with her, or that no one could behold her without Astonishment, but her Conversation had those Charms that were not to be resisted, and that natural Grace and Sweetness which appeared in every thing she said or did, stung her Beholders to the Soul. Her Tongue was hung so harmoniously, that no Instrument was capable of more variety of Sounds. She spoke most Languages, there were but few of the barbarous Nations that she answered by an Interpreter, to most of them she gave Audience her self, as to the *Æthiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Hebrews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes*, *Parthians*, and many Others, which is the more admirable considering that most of the Kings her Predecessors could scarce attain to the *Ægyptian* Tongue, and that several of them had quite forgot the *Macedonian*, which was their original Language.

Antony was so strangely taken with this Woman, that notwithstanding *Fulvia* his Wife maintained his Quarrels in *Rome* against *Cæsar* with great Difficulty, and that the *Parthian* Troops commanded by *Labienus*, who had embraced their Party, and was made their General, were assembled in *Mesopotamia*, and ready to enter *Syria*, could yet suffer himself to be carried away by her into *Alexandria* there to lead an easie childish Life in Divertisements too youthful for his Age, squandring away,

as *Antipho* calls it, his most precious and not to be retrieved Time. They gave their way of living a particular Name, calling it, *the inimitable Life*. They treated one another by turns, and their Expences were without Reason and Measure. I remember I have heard my Grandfather *Lamprias* relate, that *Philotas* a Physician of *Amphyssa*, who was at that time a Student in *Alexandria*, had told him, that having an Acquaintance with one of *Antony's* Cooks he was invited by him to see what sumptuous Preparations they were making for Supper. Coming into the Kitchen, he admired the prodigious Variety of all things, but particularly seeing eight wild Boars roasted whole, says he, *Surely you have a great Number of Guests*; the Cook laughed at his simplicity, and told him *there was not above twelve to sup, but that every Dish was to be served up just roasted to a turn, and if any thing was but one Minute ill-timed it was spoiled*; for, said he, *may be Antony will sup just now, may be not this Hour, may be not these two Hours, for that he has a mind to spend some time in drinking or discoursing, so that not One but many Suppers must be had in readiness, for it is not easie to guess at his Hour*. This was *Philotas* his Story; who related besides, how coming afterwards into the Service of *Antony's* eldest Son by *Fulvia*, and being admitted with Others of the better Rank of Servants to sit at Table with him, when he did not eat with his Father, it happened that another Physician, full of Argument and Noise, had given great Disturbance to the Company, whose Mouth *Philotas* stopped with this Sophistical Syllogism: *It is proper to give cold Water to one who has a Feaver in some degree; every one who hath a Feaver hath it in some degree; it is proper therefore to give cold Water in a Feaver*. This Sophism quite nonplust the poor Physician, at which young *Antony* was so highly pleased, that he

he said to *Philotas*, *All That is yours, Philotas*, pointing to a Side-board covered with rich Plate. *Philotas* thanked him for his Good-will, but could not conceive that the young Man had Power to dispose of things of that value, but soon after the Plate was all brought to him, and He desired to set his Mark upon it; but fearing to accept the Present, *What ails the Man*, (said He who brought it) *do you know that He who gives you this is Antony's Son, who could very well spare it if it were all Gold; but if you will be advised by Me, I would counsel you to accept of the value in Money, for there may be among it (1) some Pieces of Antiquity, or the Work of some famous Master which Antony may have a particular Esteem for. These Relations I had from my Grandfather concerning Philotas.*

To return to *Cleopatra*: (2) *Plato* admits but of four sorts of Flattery, but this Woman would have learned him a thousand different kinds, that he never dreamed of; Were *Antony* serious or disposed to Mirth, she had every Minute new Graces and new Arts to season All with Pleasure and Delight; she had the absolute Power over his Spi-

(1) The Romans were very curious of such Pieces of Antiquity, and made Collections of them, as appears from what *Damasippus* saith in *Horace*, *Sat. 3. Lib. 2.* And he adds afterwards, that one single Statue cost him a hundred thousand Sesterces.

*Callidus huic signo, ponebam
millia centum.*

Antony, tho' very ignorant in those Matters, had made a vast Collection of such Curiosities. He judged of a thing by the Vogue it was in, as it is practised now-a-days by many of our modern Virtuosi.

(2) The Passage alluded to here is in the *Gorgias*, where the Philosopher, after having defined the four Arts or Sciences, which are solely designed for the Benefit and Preservation of Men, Two of which concern the Soul, that is to say the *Nomothetick*, and the *Dicastick*; and Two the Body, viz. the *Gymnastick*, which answers to the *Nomothetick*, and the *Iatrick*, which answers to the *Dicastick*, lays it down for a Rule that the Art of Flattery, *Κολαεδοτική*, is likewise divided into four Species, which he describes at large in that Place.

rit,

rit, and never left him Day nor Night; she played at Dice with him, Drank with him, Hunted with him, and when Exercising in Arms she was always by him; she would go a rambling with him a-nights, to disturb and torment People under their Windows, drest like an ordinary Woman, for *Antony* went in the Disguise of a Servant, and from those Expeditions he often came home very scurvily treated, and sometimes beaten severely. Though this sort of Behaviour was very displeasing to Some, yet the *Alexandrians* were well satisfied in his Frolicks and jovial Humour, saying pleasantly, *that they had great Obligations to Antony, who diverted Them with his Comical Countenance, and reserved the Tragical for the Romans.* It would be very tedious to be more particular in his Follies, but his Fishing must not be forgot. He went out one Day to Angle with *Cleopatra*, and being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the Presence of his Mistress, he fell into a great Passion, and gave secret Orders to the Fishermen to Dive under Water, and put Fishes that had been fresh taken upon his Hooks, after which he drew so fast that the subtil *Egyptian* perceived it, and seemed wonderfully surprized at his great Luck and Dexterity, but told her Friends in secret what had happened, and invited them all to come the next Day, and be Spectators of a like comical Adventure, and They attended her accordingly.

As soon as they were all got into the Fishing Vessels, and *Antony* had let down his Line, she commanded one of her Servants to be beforehand with *Antony's*, and He being the nimbler of the Two dived first, and fixed upon his Hook a salted Fish, One of Those which were usually taken in the *Pontick* Sea. The Moment *Antony* thought he had a Bite he drew up his Line, and, as may easily be imagined, was soundly laught at by the whole

whole Company: When *Cleopatra* with an agreeable Air said, *Allow us, brave Sir, poor Inhabitants of Charos and Canopus, the Reputation to be skilful in this Art, (1) your Game is Cities, Provinces, and Kingdoms.*

Whilst *Antony* was thus amused in his Childish Recreations, two Messengers arrived, the One from *Rome* to inform him that his Brother *Lucius* and his Wife *Fulvia*, after many Quarrels between Themselves, had at last joined to resist *Cæsar*, but having lost all were forced to fly out of *Italy*. The Other brought little better News, how that *Labienus* at the Head of the *Parthians* had overran *Asia* from the *Euphrates* and *Syria* all along to *Lydia* and *Ionia*. Notwithstanding which it was a long time before he could be roused from his Lethargy, but at length as it were recovering from a drunken Fit, he set onward for *Parthia*, and proceeded as far as *Phœnicia*; but upon the Receipt of most lamentable Letters from *Fulvia*, he turned his Course with two hundred Ships to *Italy*, and in his way receiving such of his Friends as fled from *Rome*, he was by Them given to understand that *Fulvia* had been the sole Cause of the War, a Woman of a restless Spirit, and very bold, and withal her Hopes were that the Comotions in *Italy* would force him out of the Arms of

(1) This is a fine Compliment, so fine indeed that *Antony* could not find in his Heart to be angry with her for the Trick she had plaid him. It is not unlikely but this Commendation of *Antony* give *Virgil* a Hint for that which he makes *Anchises* pay to the *Romans*.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius
ara, &c.*

*Turegere Imperio Populos, Roma-
ne, memento;*

*Ha tibi erunt artes, Pacique im-
ponere morem.*

The Turn is the very same; but what seems something odd is that an *Ægyptian* should be able to supply the Prince of the *Latin* Poets with so fine a Sentiment. This Conjecture seems more than probable when we consider that *Virgil* was at that very time writing his *Æneid*.

Cleopatra.

Cleopatra. But it happened that *Fulvia*, as she was coming to meet her Husband, fell sick by the way, and died at *Seyon*. This Accident facilitated an Accommodation between *Antony* and *Cæsar*; for They who were Friends to them Both, seeing *Antony* arrived in *Italy*, and nothing laid to his Charge, but what he disowned, and shifted off upon *Fulvia*; they would not suffer that the time should be spent in justifying and accusing each other, but made them both Friends, and so proceeded to the Division of the Empire, fixing the *Ionian* Sea as the Boundary, for the Eastern Provinces were given to *Antony*, to *Cæsar* the Western, and *Africk* left to *Lepidus*; and an Agreement was made, that every one in their turn, as they thought fit, should make their Friends Consuls, when they took it not Themselves. This Agreement was well approved of, but it was thought a stronger tie would be very necessary, and here Fortune was propitious, for *Cæsar* had a Sister named *Octavia*, elder than Him, but not of the whole Blood, for His Mother's Name was *Accia*, and Hers *Ancharia*. This Sister he loved intirely, and a Lady she was of a Noble Character, the Relict of *Caius Marcellus*, who died just before; and *Antony* passed now for a Widower by the Death of *Fulvia*; for tho' he did not disavow the Passion he had for *Cleopatra*, yet he disowned any thing of Marriage, Love and Reason still debating in his Breast what was to become of the fair *Ægyptian* Queen. Every Body was for promoting this Marriage, it being the general Expectation, that a Lady of so much Honour, Beauty and Prudence, being perpetually with *Antony*, and having great Credit with him, as might reasonably be expected, Affairs would easily be so ordered, that no Difference should arise betwixt Him and *Cæsar*: Both Parties being agreed
(1) they

(1) they went to *Rome* to celebrate the Nuptials, the Senate dispensing with the Law by which a Widow was not permitted to marry 'till ten Months after the Death of her Husband.

Sextus Pompeius was at that time in possession of *Sicily*, and with his Ships under the Command of *Menas* and *Menecrates*, two famous Pirates, infested the *Italian Coast* in such a manner that no Vessels durst venture into those Seas. *Sextus* had behaved himself with much Humanity towards *Antony*, having kindly received his Wife and Mother in their Flight, and it was judged fit that He should be received into the Peace; they met nigh to the Promontory of *Misenum* upon a Point of Land that runs into the Sea, *Pompey's Fleet* being at Anchor in the Road, and *Antony* and *Cæsar's Army* drawn up all along the Sea-side over-against them. There it was concluded that *Sextus* should quietly enjoy the Government of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, He conditioning to scour the Seas of all Pirates, and to send a certain Provision of Corn every Year to *Rome*.

This agreed on, they invited one another to Supper, and by Lot it fell to *Pompey's* turn to make the first Entertainment, and *Antony* asking where it was to be, There, said he, pointing to the Admiral, for that is the only House that *Pompey* is Heir to of his Father's: And This he said, reflecting upon *Antony* who then was in Possession of his Father's House. Having cast Anchor, and made a Bridge from the Promontory into the Galley, he received them very gallantly; when they began to grow warm, which occasioned many pleasant Passages upon the Subject of *Antony's* and

(1) For at the time of this Agreement they were at *Brundisium*, which *Antony* had laid Siege to, and whither *Cæsar* was come to relieve it. This I think ought to have been mentioned by *Plutarch*.

Cleopatra's Loves, Menas the Pirate whispered Pompey in the Ear, Sir, said he, *will you be pleased that I cut the Cable, which will not only make you Master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman Empire.* Pompey having for a while considered what was proposed, returned him this Answer, Menas, *This might have been done without acquainting me in it, but now let us make the best of our present Condition, for I cannot violate my Faith once given.* And so having been treated by the other two in their Turns he set Sail for Sicily.

As soon as Matters were concerted, Antony dispatched Ventidius into Asia, to put a stop to the Inroads of the Parthians; and He, to make a Compliment to Octavius, accepted of the Office of being Priest to the deceased Cæsar, and in all Occasions of common Civility, as also in Matters of the highest Concernment, they Both behaved themselves with a great deal of Easiness and Friendship: But Antony could not suffer with Patience, that Cæsar, in all little Plays which they frequently diverted themselves with, should be constantly victorious: He had usually with him an *Ægyptian*, skilful in the Calculation of Nativities, who either to make his Court to *Cleopatra*, or that by the Rules of his Art he found it to be so, did declare to him, that though the Fortune that did attend him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by Cæsar's; and advised him to keep himself far distant from that young Man, *for your Genius*, said he, *dreads His.* When absent from Him Yours is proud and brave, but in the Presence of His unmanly and dejected; and the Event shewed that the *Ægyptian* spoke truth, for whensoever they played by drawing Lots or at Dice Antony was still the Loser; and as they often fought Game-Cocks or Quails, Cæsar's always had the Victory. This gave Antony a sensible Displeasure,

and made him put great Confidence in the Skill of his *Egyptian* Astrologer, so that having quitted the Management of home Affairs to *Cæsar*, he left *Italy*; and *Octavia*, who had been lately brought to Bed of a Daughter, was taken with him into *Greece*.

Whilst he wintered in *Athens* he received the joyful News of *Ventidius* his Victory over the *Parthians*, and that *Labienus* was slain, as was likewise *Pharnapates* the most experienced of all King *Orodes* his Generals, and a Man of the greatest Reputation. Upon the Arrival of this important Advice he made a publick Feast for all the *Græcians*, exhibited Prize-fightings to the *Athenians*, and presided in Person as Moderator. On this Occasion he laid aside the Ensigns of his Authority, and made his Procession in a long Gown and Slippers with the Wands marching before, which are usual in those Solemnities, and performed his Duty in parting the Combatants, when they had fought enough. Just as his Army was ready to march he made him a Garland of the Olive Tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and in Obedience to some Oracle (1) he filled a Vessel with the Water of the *Clepsydra* to carry along with him. *Pacorus*, the *Parthian* King's Son, at this time made an Inroad into *Syria*, and was met by *Ventidius*, who gave him Battel in the Country of *Cyrestica*, slew most of his Men, and *Pacorus* among the rest. This Victory gave great Reputation to the *Romans*, and redeemed their Honour, which had suffered much ever since the Defeat of *Crassus*, the *Parthians* being obliged, after the Loss of three Battels successively, to keep themselves within the Bounds of *Media* and *Meso-*

(1) This was a Fountain in the Citadel, and was called *Clepsydra* because it was sometimes full of Water, and sometimes empty.

This was a merry Superstition in *Antony*, to carry with him some of that Water, as if it would contribute to the Success of his Affairs.

potamia. *Ventidius* thought it not prudent to push his good Fortune any further, for fear of raising some Jealousies in *Antony*, but turning his Arms against Such as had revolted, he reduced them to their former Obedience. Amongst the rest he besieged *Antiochus* King of *Commogena*, who made an Offer of a thousand Talents for his Pardon; and the Promise of a full Obedience, and Submission to all *Antony's* Commands; but *Ventidius* told him that *Antony* was upon his March; and that he must send his Proposals to Him, for that He had no Power to treat with him; to the End that this small Affair might be transacted in *Antony's* Name, that People might not think he did nothing but by his Lieutenants. But the Siege growing very tedious; and the Besiegers perceiving that they could not hope for any reasonable Composition, resolved to hold it out to the utmost extremity; so that *Antony*, ashamed to see how little he had done; repented himself that he had not accepted the first Offer; and in conclusion was glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus*, for three hundred Talents; and so raised the Siege. As soon as he had settled some Affairs in *Syria*, which stood in need of a Regulation; he returned to *Athens*, where he conferred on *Ventidius* the Honours he had so well deserved, and then sent him to *Rome* there to receive the more substantial Honours of a Triumph. He was the first *Roman* that ever triumphed over the *Parthians*; a Man of an obscure Birth, but one who by *Antony's* Friendship had Opportunities given him of performing great things, and those Opportunities he husbanded with such good Management that he confirmed the Observation made both of *Cæsar*, and *Antony*, that they were more successful when their Armies were led by their Lieutenants than when they commanded in Person. For *Sossius*, *Antony's* Lieutenant, performed

Miracles in *Syria*; and *Canidius*, whom he left in *Armenia*, subdued the whole Country, and after having defeated the Kings of *Albania* and *Iberia*, he penetrated with his victorious Army as far as to the Mountain of *Caucasus*, by which means the Fame of *Antony's* Arms was grown very terrible to the barbarous Nations.

But being provoked at *Cæsar* by some Reports that he had received against him, he immediately set sail for *Italy* with a Fleet consisting of three hundred Sail, and being refused Harbour in the Port of *Brundisium*, he made for *Tarentum*. There his Wife *Octavia*, who came from *Greece* with him, and was then big of her third Child, prevailed with him to send Her to her Brother. As she was on her Journey to *Rome*, she met *Octavius* by the way, and had a Conference with him in the Presence of his two Friends *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, who attended him at that time, and Whom she was willing to have Witnesses of what passed between them. She begun with conjuring him, with Tears in her Eyes, to consider her Circumstances, and not suffer her, instead of the most fortunate of Women, to become the most deplorable. For, at present, said she, the Eyes of the whole World are fixed upon Me on Account of the Relation I stand in to Two of the greatest Men in it, being Wife of the One, and Sister to the Other. If rash Counsels prevail, and War ensues, I shall be miserable without Redress, for on what side soever Victory falls, I shall be sure to be the Loser. *Cæsar* was softened by the Entreaties of his Sister, and marched in a peaceful manner to *Tarentum*. They who were present at his Arrival were strangely delighted to see so powerful an Army drawn up on the Shore, and so great a Fleet in the Harbour, without committing the least Act of Hostility on either Part; nothing but kind Salutations, and other Expressions of Joy and Friendship passing

passing between the one side, and the Other. *Antony* first invited *Cæsar* to Supper, which he accepted of in Consideration of *Octavia*: At length an Agreement was made between them, that *Cæsar* should give *Antony* two of his Legions to serve him in the *Parthian* War, and that *Antony* should in Return leave with him an hundred armed Gallies. Besides This, *Octavia* obtained of her Husband twenty Brigantines for her Brother; and of her Brother a thousand Foot for her Husband. So having parted very good Friends, *Cæsar* went immediately to make War with *Pompey* for the Recovery of *Sicily*: And *Antony* leaving with him his Wife and Children, and his Children by his former Wife *Fulvia*, set Sail for *Asia*. Then it was that the worst of infectious Diseases, Love, and the Love of *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his Breast so long, and seemed to have given Place to the temperate Duties of Life, upon his Approach to *Syria*, gathered Strength again, and broke out into a Flame. Then that untractable and unbridled Horse of his Soul, (1) as *Plato* calls it, breaking loose, and rejecting all serious and wholesome Counsels, which alone were able to restrain, and save him, hurried him on, and forced him to send *Fonteius Capito* to conduct *Cleopatra* into *Syria*.

As soon as She was arrived, he acknowledged her Complaisance in most bountiful Presents; for besides what he had given her before, he added the Provinces of *Phœnicia*, the Lower *Syria*, *Cyprus*,

(1) *Plutarch* has here in his Eye that beautiful Image of the Soul, as we find it represented by *Plato* in his *Phædrus*, where he compares it to a winged Chariot with two Horses and a Coachman. One of these Horses is stubborn and untamable, the Other tractable and obedient; by the Coach-man is meant

Reason, which is to have the Command, and Conduct; by the Horse that is not to be tamed is understood the concupiscible Part, which knows neither Rein, nor Reason; the Tractable, represents the irascible Part, because That is obedient to Reason, and is ready to assist it on emergent Occasions.

great Part of *Gilicia*, and that side of *Judea* which produces the true Balm, together with that Part of *Arabia Nabathæa* which borders upon the Ocean. These profuse Gifts much displeased the *Romans*; for although he had invested several private Persons in great Governments and Kingdoms, and bereaved many Kings of Theirs, as *Antigonus* of *Judea*, whose Head he caused to be struck off, the first crown'd Head that ever suffered that opprobrious Death; yet nothing was so grievous to the *Romans*, as the vile Profusions he made upon that Woman; and their Dissatisfaction was much augmented by his giving the Sir-names of the Sun and Moon to *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, Twins born to him by Her. But He, who knew how to varnish over the most dishonest Actions with specious Colours, would say, that the Greatness of the *Roman* Empire consisted more in giving, than in conquering Kingdoms, and that the Noble Blood of Kings was communicated to all the World, when they left their Off-spring in every Place they came, and that by this means He had the Honour to descend from *Hercules*, who never founded the Hopes of his Posterity upon the Fruitfulness of one Woman, (1) as if he had been afraid to transgress the Laws of *Solon*, and of being cited before a Judge for having violated the Ordinances relating to Procreation, but rather chose to leave several Branches in Nature, by sowing of Children up and down in many Places.

After (2) *Ptolemy* had killed his Father *Orodes*, and taken Possession of his Kingdom, many of the *Parthians*

(1) *Plutarch* speaks here according to the corrupt Sentiments, and debauched Principles of *Athenians*, who thought it beneath him to pay any Obedience to the Laws established for maintaining the

Sanctity of the Marriage Bed, and regulate the Birth of Children.

(2) Instead of *Ptolemy* Some read *Ptolemy*, and so it stands in the Text, but it is a manifest Error. *Ptolemy* was King of the *Indians*.

Parthian Nobility left their Country; among the rest, *Meneses*, a Nobleman of great Authority, who made his Application to *Antony*, by whom he was received with great Kindness; for comparing the Fortune of this *Parthian* with That of *Themistocles*, and vying in Wealth and Magnificence with the Kings of *Persia*, he bestowed three Cities on him for his Maintenance, *Larissa*, *Arctifusa*, and *Hierapolis*, which was formerly called *Bombyce*. But the King of *Parthia* soon after recalled him, and gave him his Word and Honour for his Safety. *Antony* was not unwilling to give him leave to return, hoping thereby to surprize *Phraates*; for he sent him Word he would remain his Friend, upon Condition he sent back the *Roman* Standards and Ensigns which had been taken by the *Parthians* when *Crassus* was slain, together with as many of the Prisoners as were still surviving. This done, he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and marched through *Arabia*, and *Armenia*, where he made a Review of his Army as soon as he was joined by his own Troops, and Thole of his Allies; for he had several Princes in Alliance with him, among whom *Artasdes*, King of *Armenia*, was the most Potent, for He alone furnished him with a Body of six thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. There appeared at this Muster sixty thousand *Roman* Foot, and ten thousand Horse, who tho' they consisted of *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*, yet were reckoned as *Romans*. Of other Nations the Number amounted to thirty thousand, including the light-armed, and the Cavalry.

It is said that this formidable Power, which put all the *Indians* on the other side of *Baſſis* under

Menes, Son to *Deion*, of the Family of *Arbaces*. Whence *Phraates* was King of *Parthia*, and *Phraates* III. is the Person spoken of in this Life of *Antony*, the same with Him mentioned by *Horace*, Ode 2. Lib. III.

Reddunt Cyri filius Phraates.

the greatest Consternation, and alarmed *Asia*, proved utterly unprofitable to him through his doting Fondness for *Cleopatra*. For his Impatience of returning to Her, and spending the Winter with her, made him begin the War too early in the Season, and act in every respect with the utmost Precipitation. Like a Person under the Power of Witchcraft, or Inchantment, he continually cast a longing Eye that way, as to his beloved Object, and was more desirous of throwing himself at her Feet, than of overcoming the Enemy. For whereas he should have taking up his Winter-Quarters in *Armenia*, and refreshed his Men, who were tired with a long March of eight thousand Furlongs, and have taken the Advantage early in the Spring, and seized on *Media*, before the *Parthians* were drawn out of Garrison, he had not Patience to expect his time, but marched into the Province of *Atropatene*, leaving *Armenia* on the right Hand, and laying waste all the Country. His haste was so great, that he left behind him all the Engines of Battery, which followed the Camp on three hundred Carriages, among which was a Ram fourscore Foot long; and it was impossible, if any of them came to be damaged, to have them repaired in those upper Provinces of *Asia*, which produce no Trees either high enough, or of Strength sufficient for such Uses. These were left to follow him under a Guard commanded by *Tatianus*, whilst He Himself went and laid Siege to the strong City *Phraata*, wherein were the King of *Media's* Wives and Children. Here he was soon made sensible of the Error he committed, in leaving the battering Rams behind him; for want of which, and that his Men might be able to attack the Besieged Hand to Hand, he was constrained to cast up a Mount of Earth against the Wall, which cost his Troops much Time and Labour.

In

In the mean time *Pbraates* arrived with a numerous Army, and upon Intelligence that *Antony* had left his Machines behind, he sent a strong Detachment of Horse, with orders to seize them. This Party attacked *Tatianus*, who fell in the Action, and with him about ten thousand of his Soldiers. The *Barbarians* made themselves Masters of the Engines, and destroy'd them. At the same time they took many Prisoners, among whom was King *Polemon*. This great Miscarriage in the opening of the Campaign, did much discourage *Antony's* Army; and *Artuasdes* King of *Armenia*, despairing of any better Success, withdrew himself with all his Forces from the *Roman* Camp, although he had been the chief Promoter of the War. The *Parthians*, encouraged by this Victory, came up to the *Romans* at the Siege, and giving them many Affronts, *Antony*, who feared lest if he suffered the Soldiers to lye idle they would be intimidated, and by degrees sink into Despair, took ten Legions, three *Prætorian* Cohorts heavy armed, and all his Cavalry, and led them out to Forage, being persuaded that That was the only way to draw the Enemy after him, and force them to a Battel.

By that time he had made a Day's March, he saw the *Barbarians* in Motion on every side, watching an Opportunity of falling upon him in his March. He thereupon gave the Signal for Battel in the middle of his Camp, and at the same time struck his Tents, as if his Intentions were not to fight, but retire. Accordingly he passed by the Army of the *Barbarians*, which was formed in the Shape of a half Moon, having beforehand given order to the Horse to charge the Enemy upon full speed so soon as they saw the Legions were come up nigh enough to second them. The *Parthians* who stood drawn up over-against them beheld the *Roman* Army as it was advancing, and were struck with Admiration at

the Exactness of their Order and Discipline; for as they moved they maintained their Intervals, without discomposing their Ranks in the least, and shook their Pikes as they marched on in a profound Silence.

As soon as the Signal was given the Horse turned short, and fell with loud Shouts and great Impetuosity upon the *Parthians*. They on the other hand received them with great Courage, tho' the *Romans* had in an Instant possessed themselves of that Space of Ground, for want of which they could not make a right Use of their Arrows. But when the Infantry came to charge them, what with their own Shouts, and the Ratling of their Armour, the *Parthian* Horses were so scared, that they soon began to bound, and fall into Disorder; and the *Parthians* themselves being seized with a Panick, fled without once charging. *Antony* followed them very close, flattering himself with the Hopes that the War, or at least the greatest Part of it, would be determined by that single Action. But after the Foot had pursued them for the Space of fifty Furlongs, and the Horse three times as far, upon casting up his Account he found he had slain but Fourscore, and taken Thirty Prisoners. This was a great Discouragement to the *Romans*, to consider that when they were victorious their Advantage was so small, and that when they were beaten they lost such great Numbers; as it happened when the Carriages were taken.

The next Day, having pack'd up their Baggage, they marched back to the Camp before *Pbraata*. In their March they met with some of the scattered Troops of the Enemy, soon after with greater Parties, and at length with the whole Body, who had rallied, and as if they had been fresh Troops and unbroken, harrassed them on every Side, and defied them, so that they could not

reach

reach their Camp without much Labour and Difficulty.

The *Medes* had during his Absence made a Sally, and constrained Those who had been posted for the Defence of the Mount to desert it; wherefore *Antony* at his Return resolved to proceed against them by Decimation, which is done by dividing the Runaways into Tens, and out of every Ten to put One to Death, as it happens by Lot; and for Them that escape, They, instead of Wheat, have their Proportion or Allowance in Barley. The War was now become grievous to both Parties; but was more dreadful to *Antony*, in respect that he was threatned with Famine, for he could no longer forage without great Hazard and Slaughter of his Men. And *Pbraates* on the other side knowing by Experience the Humour of the *Parthians*, did more than suspect, that if the *Romans* obstinately persisted in their Resolution of carrying on the Siege, the Autumnal Equinox being past, and the Rains threatening him, he should be deserted by his Soldiers, who would suffer any thing rather than winter in open Field. To prevent which, he made use of the following Stratagem. He gave Order to his Officers, not to pursue the *Romans* too close, when they met them foraging, but to suffer them to carry off some Provision; that they should praise their Valour, and declare that it was with just reason that their King looked upon the *Romans* as the bravest Men in the World; and that they should upon Opportunity of more familiar Discourse blame *Antony* for his Obstinacy, since *Pbraates* desired nothing more than Peace, and an Occasion to shew how ready he was to save the Lives of so many brave Soldiers: He on the contrary defeated all his generous Designs, and exposed himself to two most dangerous Enemies, Winter and Famine, which must of necessity destroy them, tho' the *Parthians* were ready with
their

their friendly Endeavours to preserve them. *Antony* receiving these Reports from many Hands, began to be in some hopes; but he would not send any Ambassadors to the *Parthian*, 'till he was informed by these kind Enemies, whether what they said was of their own Head, or by Order of their King. These Barbarians assured him that This was the Sense of their Master, and at the same time gave him new Encouragement to believe them. *Antony* hereupon sent some of his Friends to demand the Standards and Prisoners that were yet remaining in their Hands since the Defeat of *Crassus*, lest if he should ask nothing, he might be supposed to be too much overjoyed with the leave given him to make his Retreat in quiet. The *Parthian* King made answer, *That as for the Standards and Prisoners, They were out of the Question, but if he thought fit to retreat, he might do it when he pleased, in peace and safety.* Some few Days therefore being spent in packing up the Baggage, he resolved upon his March; and here it was that *Antony*, the Man in the World the fittest to harangue the Army, being oppressed with Shame and Grief, could not find in his Heart to speak Himself, but employed *Domitius Aenobarbus* in that Office. Many of the Soldiers resented it, as an undervaluing of them; but the better sort saw the true Cause, and thought This rather an Argument, why they on their side should treat their General with more Respect than ordinary. *Antony* having resolved to return by the same way he came, which was thro' a plain flat Country, a certain *Mardian* came to him (one who was very conversant with the Manners of the *Parthians*, and whose Fidelity to the *Romans* had been tried at the Battel where the Machines were lost) and advised him to leave the Mountains on his right Hand, and not to expose his Men heavy armed in an open Country to the Assaults of a numerous Army

my of light Horſe and Archers; That Phraates had with fair Promiſes perſuaded him from the Siege, that he might with more eaſe cut him off in his Retreat; but if ſo he pleaſed, he would conduct him a nigher way, where he ſhould find the Neceſſaries for his Army in greater abundance. Antony, upon This, began to conſider what was beſt to be done; he was unwilling to ſeem to have any Miſtruſt of the *Parthians* after their Treaty; but being more deſirous to march his Army the nigher and moſt convenient way, he demanded of the *Mardian* ſome aſſurance of his Faith, who offered himſelf to be bound until the Army came ſafe into *Armenia*. Two Days he conducted the Army bound, and on the Third, when Antony, little expecting the Enemy, was marching in no very good Order, the *Mardian* perceiving the Banks of a River broken down, and the Water overflowing the Way by which they were to paſs, imagined that This might be done by the *Parthians*, on purpoſe to hinder their March, and did therefore adviſe Antony to be upon his Guard, for that the Enemy was nigh; and no ſooner had he put his Men in Order, diſpoſing of the Slingers in the Front, to make the Onſet, but the *Parthians* came pouring upon them, thinking to encompass the Army. They were received by the light Horſe, which were ſore galled by their Javelins, but They Themſelves being warmly entertained, and many wounded, made their Retreat; but ſoon after rallying up aſreſh, they were beat back by a Battalion of *Gallick* Horſe, and appeared no more that Day. By their manner of Attack, Antony being inſtructed what to do, did not only place the Slings and Javelins in the Front, but lined Both the Wings with the ſame, and ſo marched in a ſquare Battel, giving order to the Horſe to charge and beat off the Enemy, but not to follow them too far in their Retreat. So that the *Parthians* not doing much more Miſchief

Mischief for the four ensuing Days than they received, began to abate in their heat, and complaining that the Winter-Season was much advanced, pressed for returning home.

On the fifth Day *Flavius Gallus*, a brave Officer, who had a considerable Command in the Army, came to *Antony*, desiring of him some Troops of light Horse out of the Rear and some other Horse out of the Front, with which he would undertake to do some considerable Service: Which when he had obtain'd, he beat the Enemy back, not retiring, as was usual, to the Gross of the Army, but making his Ground good, and pressing on with great Obstinacy. The Officers who commanded in the Rear of this Detachment, perceiving how far he had got from the Body of the Army, sent to warn him back, but he took no notice of them. It is said, that *Titus* the Quæstor snatched the Colours, and retreated, telling *Gallus* that he did very ill to lead so many brave Men on to certain Destruction. He on the other side reviling him again, and commanding the Men that were about him to stand firm, *Titus* made his Retreat, but *Gallus* charging the Enemy in the Front, was encompassed by a Party that fell upon his Rear; which when he at length perceived, he sent a Messenger to demand Succour. They who commanded the Legions, among whom was *Canidius*, a particular Favourite of *Antony's*, committed a great Oversight on this Occasion; for instead of marching up with the whole Army to the Relief of *Gallus*, they sent only small Parties, and when They were defeated, they still sent out other Reinforcements of the same Strength and Number; so that by their ill Management the whole Army was in danger of being routed, which had certainly happened if *Antony* Himself had not marched from the Front of the main Battel at the Head of the third Legion; which passing through Them that fled, faced the Enemies,

and hindred them from any farther Pursuit. In this Engagement three thousand were killed, and five thousand carried back to the Camp wounded, amongst Whom was *Gallus* shot through the Body with four Arrows, of which he died. *Antony* went from Tent to Tent, to visit and comfort the wounded, and was not able to see his Men without weeping, but They with a chearful Countenance took him by the Hand, and intreated him to go and get his own Wounds dressed, and not concern himself for Them; calling him their Emperor and their General, and that if He did well They were safe. And indeed it may be said that no General before him had ever been at the Head of so gallant a Body of Men; whether we consider Strength and Youth, or Patience and Sufferance in all Labours and Fatigues. And as for that exact Obedience and particular Respect they bore their General, that Good-will and perfect Friendship, which was so universal in the Army amongst Small and Great, Nobles and Peasants, Officers and common Soldiers, so affectionate, and so devoted to him, as to prefer His good Opinion of them to their very Lives and Being; in this part of Military Discipline I may boldly say, they equall'd the Glory and Reputation of ancient *Rome*. Of which Love, as I have said before, many were the Reasons, as the Nobility and Antiquity of his Family, his Eloquence, his Behaviour, his Liberality and Magnificence, his Familiarity in entertaining every Body, and particularly his Kindness in assisting, visiting and bewailing the Sick, furnishing them with all things necessary, insomuch that the poor Wretches who were sick and wounded, were as heartily disposed to serve as Those who were in the full Enjoyment of their Health and Vigour. But this last Victory had so encouraged the Enemy, that they began to despise the *Romans*, staying all Night on Horse-back

back nigh the Camp, in Expectation of plundering their Tents and Baggage, which they concluded they must desert, as a great Impediment in their Flight; and in the Morning new Forces arrived, so that their Number was grown to be at least forty thousand Horse: The King having sent even the Guards that attended upon his own Person, as to a sure and unquestion'd Victory; for he Himself was never present in Fight. *Antony* designing to harangue the Soldiers, called for his Mourning-Habit, that he might move them the more; but he was persuaded by his Friends to put on That of General. In his Speech he gave great Commendations to Those who kept their Ground, and repulsed the Enemy, but blamed such as disgraced themselves by a dishonourable Flight. The Former made him hope for every thing that could be expected from their approved Valour, and the Latter excusing themselves as well as they could, told him they were ready to undergo Decimation, or if there were any other Punishment he would please to inflict upon them they did submit chearfully, only intreating that he would forget and not discompose himself with their Faults; at which he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and prayed the Gods, *that if to balance the great Favours he had received of them, any Judgment lay in Store, they would pour it upon His Head alone, and make his Army Victorious over all its Enemies.* The next Day he took better order for their March, and the *Parthians*, who thought they were marching rather to plunder than to fight, were surprized to find the Enemy not disheartned, but fresh and resolute, so that they Themselves began to lose Courage; but for all This, at the Descent of a little Hill, where the *Romans* were obliged to pass, the *Parthians* got together, and let fly their Arrows in great Showers upon them, and by reason of the Difficulty of the

I

Way,

Way, their March was very flow. Here the Legions that were armed at all Points were ordered to defend on each side the light-armed, by kneeling down on their Knees, and holding their Shields sloping over them, the next Rank holding theirs over the First, and so on onwards, insomuch that the Army in this figure did much resemble the Order that is observable in the tiling of a House, or the Degrees in a Theatre, and is a sure Defence against Arrows, which glance upon them without doing any Harm. The *Parthians* seeing the *Romans* down upon their Knees could not imagine but that it must proceed from Weariness; so that they laid down their Bows, and taking their Spears, made a fierce Onset: When the *Romans* with a great Cry leaped upon their Legs, and with their Lances flew the foremost and put the rest to Flight. After this Rate it was every Day, and the Trouble they gave *Antony* was so vexatious that his Marches were short, by reason of which the Famine was very great in the Camp, for they could get but little Corn, and That which they got they were forced to fight for, and besides This they were in great Want of Instruments to grind it, and make their Bread; they having left Them behind, the Baggage-Horses being dead, or otherwise employed in carrying the Sick and Wounded. In short, Provisions grew so scarce in the Army, that half a Peck of Wheat was sold for fifty Drachmas, and Oats for the Weight in Silver; they were brought to feed upon Herbs and Roots, such as are commonly eaten were very scarce, so that they were constrain'd to venture upon Any they found. Among others they happened upon an Herb that was mortal. He that had eaten of it remembered nothing in the World; and employed himself wholly in removing of Stones from one Place to another, which he did with as much Earnestness and Industry,

stry, as if it had been a Business of the greatest Consequence, and required Dispatch; through all the Camp there was nothing to be seen but Men crawling upon the Ground for Stones, which they carried from one Place to another, but in the end after having vomited much Choler they fell down dead; especially when their Wine began to fail; which was a sovereign Remedy against this Distemper. When *Antony* saw them die so fast, and the *Parthian* still in Pursuit, he was heard to cry out, *O the Ten Thousand, the Ten Thousand!* in Remembrance of the famous Retreat of *Xenophon*, who when he had a longer Journey to make from *Babylon*, and a more powerful Enemy to deal with, conducted his Men home in Safety. The *Parthians* finding that they could not defeat the *Roman* Army, nor in any wise break the Order of their Battel, and that withal they had been so often worsted, began to treat the Foragers with a great deal of Humanity; they came up to them in all Appearance of Friendship with their Bows unbended, telling them that they were going home to their Houses, that they had quite given o'er the Pursuit, and that only some *Median* Troops would follow them for two or three Days, not with any Design to annoy them, but only for the Defence of some scattering Villages; and upon saying This, they saluted them and embraced them with great Demonstrations of Friendship. Hereupon the *Romans* began to take Heart, and *Antony* Himself had a great Mind to march through the flat Country, and quit the Mountains, where he was assured he should be distressed for want of Water.

In the mean time arrived in the Camp an Officer belonging to the Enemy named *Mitbridates*, and first Cousin to *Moneses*, of whom we related that he came for Refuge into the *Roman* Army, and received in Gift from *Antony* three Cities. Upon his
Arrival

Arrival he desired some body might be brought to him that could speak *Syriack* or the *Parthian Tongue*. One *Alexander* of *Antioch* a Friend of *Antony's* was produced, to whom the Stranger declared, that he was sent to *Antony* from *Moneses* in acknowledgment of the Favours and Honours he had received from him, and to make him a Return if it were possible; after which Preamble he asked *Alexander* if he saw those high Hills, pointing at some Distance: He told him yes. *It is there*, said he, *the whole Parthian Army attend your Passage, the great Plains behind those Hills will be very advantageous to you in your March, and therefore there they do expect you in Ambush, being persuaded that you will confide in their Promises, and quit the way of the Mountains; it is true that in passing o'er the Mountains you will suffer the usual Inconveniences for want of Water, and the Fatigue will be somewhat the greater; but if you pass through the Plains, Antony must there expect infallibly to find the Fate of Crassus.* This said, he departed. *Antony* calling his Friends in Council, sent for the *Mardian Guide*, who was of the same Opinion. He told them *that the way through the Plain was a great way about, and very difficult to find, that the Other indeed was rough, but then it was but for a Day, and it was likewise true, that for That Day they were not to expect one Drop of Water.* Changing therefore his Mind, he marched away that Night, and commanded that every one should carry Water sufficient for his own Use. Most of them being unprovided of Vessels, Some made shift with their Helmets, and Others carried Theirs in Goat-skins. The *Parthians* were no sooner acquainted that the *Romans* were on their March, but they followed them, contrary to their Custom, the same Night, and by break of Day they fell in with the Rear, which was quite tired with marching and want of Sleep, so that they

were not in a Condition to make any considerable Defence, for they had marched fifteen Leagues that night, and when at the End of their Journey they found the Enemy at their Heels, they were quite dismayed. Besides, being to fight for every Step of the Way they made in their Retreat, their Thirst was increased beyond all Sufferance. They who were in the Front of the Army came up to a River, the Water of which was extremely cool and clear, but brackish and medicinal, and being drank caused an unquenchable Thirst, and acute Pains in the Bowels; of this the *Mardian* had forewarn'd them, but their Thirst was so great, that beating back all Those who opposed them, they drank largely of it. *Antony* ran from one Place to another, begging they would have a little Patience, that not far off there was a River of wholsom Water, and that the rest of the way was so difficult for the Horse that the Enemy could pursue them no further; and saying This, he order'd a Retreat to be sounded to call Those back who were engaged, and commanded the Tents to be set up, that the Soldiers might refresh themselves in the Shade. But the Tents were scarce pitched, and the *Parthians* retired according to their custom, when *Mithridates* came again to them, and informed the Interpreter, with whom he had before spoken, that he should do well to advise *Antony*, as soon as his Troops were refreshed, to endeavour with all Diligence to gain the next River, because the *Parthians* would pursue them no further, but so far they were resolved to follow them. *Alexander*, who was the Interpreter, made his Report to *Antony*, who ordered a good Quantity of Gold Plate to be presented to *Mithridates*, who taking as much as he could well hide under his Gown went his way. Upon this Advice *Antony* decamped while it was yet Day, and the whole Army marched without

out receiving any Molestation from the *Parthians*; but the *Romans* themselves were the Cause that that Night was the most terrible of any they had yet past; for some of the Army falling on Those who had the Charge of the Treasure, killed them, ransacked the Baggage, and seized on the Money which was to pay the Army; and in the End they laid Hands on *Antony's* own Equipage, broke all his inlaid Tables and Cups of precious Stones, dividing the Fragments amongst them. *Antony* hearing so great a Confusion, could not imagine any thing less than that the Enemy falling upon his Troops, had utterly routed them, upon which he sent for one of his Guards called *Rhamnus*, to whom he had formerly given his Liberty, and made him swear, that *whensoever he should give him Orders, he should run his Sword through his Body, and cut off his Head, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of the Parthians, nor when dead be known to be their General.* While he was in this Consternation, and all his Friends about him in Tears, the *Mardian* came into the Tent and gave them all new Life; he convinced them, that by the Coolness of the Air, and the fresh Gales that blew so temperately, the River which he spoke of could not be far off, and consequently the Difficulties of their Retreat, and the Danger of the Enemy's Pursuit, were now at an End, which he was the more assured of, because they had marched a great while and the Night was well nigh spent. He was informed at the same time that the great Confusion which was in the Camp, proceeded only from the Avarice of some few Soldiers. In order to compose this unruly Tumult, he made a Halt, and commanded the Signal to be given for incamping. The Day began to break before the Tumult was well appeased, and the *Parthians* bore hard upon the Rear with their Arrows; the light-armed Troops were ordered

dered to make head against them, and being seconded by the Legions, who covered one another with their Shields, they bravely received the Onset of the Enemy, who did not think convenient to advance any further. Thus They who were in Front marching very leisurely, came at last in sight of the River; and *Antony* drawing up his Horse upon the Banks in a Posture fit to receive, and oppose the Enemy, and favour the Passage of his Army, took care to have the Sick and Wounded passed over first; whilst They who stood upon the defensive, soon found themselves at Liberty to drink without any Molestation, for as soon as the *Parthians* perceived the River which was to be the Bounds of their Pursuit, they unbent their Bows, and told the *Romans* they might pass over freely, and at the same time made them great Compliments in praise of their Valour and Conduct. When they were All on the other side, they refreshed themselves a little, and then continued their March, without depending too much upon the fair Speeches of the *Parthians*.

The sixth day after this last Engagement they arrived at the River *Araxes*, which divides *Media* and *Armenia*, and seemed, both by its Deepness and the Violence of the Current, to be very dangerous in passing, and a Report had crept in amongst them, that the Enemy was in Ambush ready to set upon them as soon as they should be busied in their Passage. But when they were got over on the other side, and found themselves in *Armenia*, just as if they were come into Harbour after a Tempest, they worshipped the Land, and shedding Tears for Joy, every one embraced his Friend; but taking their Journey through a Land that abounded in all sorts of Plenty, and having suffered great Want, they eat with that Excess of every thing they met, that they fell into Dropsies,

Dropfies, and Dysenteries. Here *Antony* making a Review of his Army, found that he had lost twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, of which the better Half perished, not by the Enemy, but by Diseases. Their March was of twenty seven Days from *Pbraata*, in which the *Parthians* were worsted in eighteen Battels, by which it is manifest that *Artuafdes* was the Cause why *Antony* could not bring this War to a happy end; for had the sixteen thousand *Median* Horse, skilful in the Discipline of the *Parthians*, and accustomed to their manner of Fight, been present, the *Romans* having put them once to flight, and the Pursuit left to the *Medians*, it is impossible they could have rallied after their Defeat, and appear again as they did in a posture to receive the Enemy; for which Reason the whole Army was very earnest with *Antony* to march into *Armenia*, but He taking advice of his Necessities, did not upbraid him with his Desertion, nor in the least abate of the usual Civility with which he was wont to treat him; for he found the Army wearied out, and in want of all manner of Necessaries: But upon another Occasion coming into *Armenia*, with Invitations and fair Promises he prevailed with *Artuafdes* to meet him, where he seized him, bound him and carried him to *Alexandria*, there to be led in Triumph; by which he very much offended the *Romans*, in that he carried into *Ægypt* the triumphal Ornaments due unto his Country, only to ingratiate himself with *Cleopatra*: But these Matters happened afterwards. For the present, being impatient to join that bewitching Princess, he marched his Army in great haste in the depth of Winter through continual Storms of Snow with the Loss of eight thousand of his Men, and came very ill accompany'd to a Place called *Leucòcome*, situated betwixt *Sydon* and *Beryte* nigh the Sea-side. There he remained in Expectation of her coming;

and being impatient of the Delay she made, he be-
thought himself of shortening the time in Drink
and Debauchery, and not being able to endure the
Tedioufness of a Meal, he would often start from
Table and run to the Sea-side to see if she were
coming; and This lasted 'till she came into Port.
At last she arrived, and brought with her Cloaths
and Money for the Soldiers. Some Authors say
that *Antony* having received the Cloaths of her,
distributed his own Money in Her Name.

About this time a Difference happened betwixt
the King of *Media* and *Phraates* King of *Parthia*,
concerning a Division of the Booty that had been
taken from the *Romans*; and the *Parthians* had been
so active and expeditious, that the King of *Media*
became alarmed at it, and saw himself in great
Danger of losing his Kingdom. In this Extremity
he sent Ambassadors to *Antony* with Offers of en-
tering into a confederate War against *Phraates*,
which gave *Antony* great hopes of obtaining his de-
sire, seeing that by this means he should have such
Horse as was necessary to reduce the *Parthians*, and
on this Consideration he returned into *Armenia*,
and joining the King of *Media* nigh *Araxes* they
began the War.

In the mean time his Wife *Octavia*, who was
all this while at *Rome*, was very desirous to see
him, and obtained her Brother's Permission for that
Purpose. Some Authors say he agreed to it not so
much to gratify Her, as to find a good Pretence to
begin the War upon her ill Reception. Upon her
Arrival at *Athens*, she received Letters from *An-
tony*, signifying to her his Pleasure that she should
wait for him there, and acquainting her with his
new Expedition. Tho' she was much displeased at
this Injunction, and was not ignorant from whence
it proceeded, yet she sent Letters to him, desiring
to know how he would have the Provisions she
had

had made for his Use be disposed of. For she had brought with her Cloaths for his Soldiers, many Horses, Money and Presents to his Friends and Officers, and two thousand chosen Soldiers well armed to recruit the *Prætorian* Cohorts. *Niger*, one of *Antony's* particular Friends, was the Person she entrusted with this Message, and acted very faithfully in the Execution of his Commission, giving *Antony* a full Information of every thing he had in Charge, and closing it with such Commendations of *Octavia* as she worthily deserved. *Cleopatra*, who knew very well that *Octavia* came only to dispute with Her, and lay in her Claim to *Antony's* Affections, (1) fearing lest that her easiness of Behaviour and observance of *Antony's* Humour, join'd with her Discretion and powerful Alliance, should render her Charms irresistible, she pretended to be dying for Love of him, and brought her Body down with a slender, opening Diet. When he entered the Room, she fixed her Eyes upon him in a Rapture, and when he took his leave, she never failed to swoon. She often had the Knack to seem all in Tears, and at the same time pretended to dry them up in haste, and unobserved, as if she were ashamed to have Him a Witness of her Weakness and Disorder. This was the Part she acted, just when he was setting out in order to assist the King of *Media* against the *Parthians*. Some of her Flatterers, who were zealous to second her Designs, loaded *Antony* with their Reproaches. They charged him with Insensibility, and upbraided him with forcing an unhappy Lady to dye for his Sake, a Lady whose Soul depended upon Him, and Him

(1) For nothing can be more detrimental to a Mistress than to have her Galant's Wife a Woman of Prudence and Virtue, especially when those Qualities are accom-

panied with personal Graces and Attractions. Libertinism and Vice must be very predominant indeed to get the better Hand of such powerful Rivals.

alone. They added, That it was true *Octavia* was his Wife, and did enjoy that honourable Title, because it was found convenient for the Affairs of her Brother that it should be so; but *Cleopatra*, the Sovereign Queen of many Nations, (1) must be contented with the Name of Mistress, nor did she shun or despise the Character, whilst she might see him, whilst she might live with him and enjoy him: If she were bereav'd of This, the Loss would be so insupportable, that it would be impossible for her to out-live it. *Antony* was so well persuaded that *Cleopatra* must die if he forsook her, that he put off all thoughts of the War, and returned to *Alexandria*, deferring his Median Expedition 'till next Summer, tho' he was informed that the *Parthian* Affairs were much disordered by foreign Revolts, and domestick Seditions. Some-while after he went into that Country, but it was only to make an Alliance with the King of *Media*, (2) by marrying One of his Sons by *Cleopatra* to the King's Daughter, who was yet very young; and after the nuptial Ceremonies were compleated he returned, wholly taken up in his Thoughts with the Civil War, which he was then designing.

Upon *Octavia's* Returning from *Athens*, *Cæsar*, who thought she had been treated very injuriously, commanded her unto his own House, but she refused to leave the House of her Husband, and in-

(1) And yet this very thing must have stung *Antony's* Heart with Remorse, if he had, what we call any Grace left him. What Comparison can there be between a prudent, virtuous, affectionate Wife, and a Queen who prostitutes her Dignity, who is so mean-spirited as to be contented with the Name of Mistress, and is engaged to her Lover under no other Ties than that of Voluptuousness, and Incontinency? *Homer* has very wise-

ly given us to understand, that even a Goddess of such Principles is inferior to a virtuous Woman.

(2) He yielded to the King of *Media* that Part of *Armenia* which he had conquered, and married *Alexander*, his eldest Son by *Cleopatra*, to that Prince's Daughter named *Iotape*. At the same time, and in vertue of that Alliance, he recovered the Standards and Ensigns that had been lost by *Tatianus*. *Dion*, Lib. xlix.

treated

treated him, unless he had other Motives to make War with *Antony*, to abandon Her Interests, for she thought it would be very scandalous to have it reported that Two of the greatest Commanders in the World had involved the *Roman* People in a Civil War, the One to justify his Mistress, the other in Resentment of his Sister's Usage. Her Behaviour did confirm her Words to be her Resolution, for she remained in her Husband's House, and took that worthy Care, not only of his Children by Her, but of Those by *Fulvia* also, as if He had been present. She received very kindly all the Friends of *Antony* who had any Pretension to Preferment; or came to *Rome* upon private Business, and was ready to prefer their Petitions to *Cæsar*; but this honourable Deportment of hers was injurious to the Reputation of *Antony*; for his injurious Treatment of a Lady of her Merit and Virtue drew on him the Resentment of all Mankind.

Another Circumstance added much to this general Resentment, which was the Dividend he made to his Children at *Alexandria*; a Dividend presumptuous in it self, of a tragical Air, and highly derogatory to the Honour of the *Romans*. For assembling the People in the publick Place, and causing two Golden Thrones to be placed in a State of Silver, the One for Himself, and the Other for *Cleopatra*, and lower Seats at their Feet for his Children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa* and *Cælosyria*, and joined with her as her Collegue *Cæsario* the supposed Son of *Cæsar* the Dictator, of whom she was going at the Death of *Cæsar*. As for his Own Sons by *Cleopatra*, who were to be treated in the Style of Kings of Kings, to *Alexander* he gave *Armenia*, *Media*, and all the Dominions of *Parthia* to soon as They should be conquered; to *Ptolemy* he made over
Phœnicia,

Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he presented them Both to the People, *Alexander* robed in a *Median Habit*, with a *Tiara* on his Head, and a Hat with a pointed Crown, by the *Persians* called *Cydaris*; and *Ptolemy* in Slippers and a Mantle, with a Cap done about with the Diadem; for This was the Habit of the Successors of *Alexander*; as the Other was of the Princes of *Media* and *Armenia*: And as soon as they had saluted their Parents, the One was received by a Guard of *Macedonians*, the Other by *Armenians*. *Cleopatra* was then, as at other times when she appeared in publick, (1) drest in the Habit of the Goddess *Isis*, and gave Audience unto the People under the Name of the *New Isis*. *Cæsar* relating these things in the Senate, and often accusing him to the People, had created in them an Ill-will towards him: Nor was *Antony* backward on His part to recriminate. The principal of his Articles which he preferred against him at *Rome* were These; First, "That he had not made any
" Division with him of *Sicily*, which was lately
" taken from *Pompey*. Secondly, That he had not
" made Restitution of the Ships he had lent him.
" Thirdly, That having abrogated the Power of
" *Lepidus*, his Collegue, he had retained his Army,
" his Governments, and the Revenues that had
" been appropriated to him, And lastly, That he

(1) Of all Follies Impiety is the most extravagant. *Cleopatra* usurps the Name and the Habit of the *Ægyptian* Goddess. This Habit was a Robe of Colours of all sorts, to denote that as she was Sovereign Queen of the World she manifested her Power upon Matter, which is susceptible of all sorts of Forms and Colours. Whereas the Habit of *Osiris* was of one Colour only; it was white, to signify that the

first Principle is simple, and uncompounded. This Robe of *Osiris* was locked up, and kept so strictly that it was only to be seen upon one stated Day in the Year; but That of *Isis* was exposed to publick View every Day. In a Word, it was a Custom among the Heathens to assume and wear the Habits consecrated to some particular Gods or Goddesses.

" had

“ had parcelled out almost all *Italy* amongst his Own
 “ Soldiers, and devised nothing to His.” *Cæsar*’s An-
 “ swer was as follows. “ That he had not dismis-
 “ sed *Lepidus* from his Government ’till he had
 “ made it appear that he was unfit to govern; That
 “ as to what he had got in the War he would di-
 “ vide with *Antony*, so soon as he would give Him
 “ His Share of *Armenia*: and that *Antony*’s Sol-
 “ diers had no right to share with His in *Italy*,
 “ because they were in Possession of *Media* and
 “ *Parthia*, which they had joyned to the *Roman*
 “ Empire fighting bravely under their General.”

Antony was in *Armenia* when this News came to him, he presently therefore sent *Canidius*, with sixteen Legions, towards the Sea, but He in the Company of *Cleopatra* went for *Ephesus*, where the Rendezvous of the Fleet was ordered, which consisted (reckoning in the Tenders) of eight hundred Vessels, of which *Cleopatra* furnished two hundred, with twenty thousand Talents, and Provisions for the whole Army during the War. *Antony* was advised by *Domitius* and some Others to send *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, there to expect the Event of the War; but She dreading a Peace might be contrived by the Mediation of *Octavia*, had prevailed with *Canidius* by a considerable Sum of Money to plead her Cause with *Antony*, and to let him know, that it was not just, that One who bore so great a Part in the Charge of the Wars, should be robbed of her share of Glory in the carrying it on; nor would it be politick to disoblige the *Ægyptians*, who were so considerable a Part of his Naval Forces: (1) Nor did he

(1) But what Instances of that Prudence and good Sense had she given? or rather what Instances had she not given of her Weakness and Folly? This gives us an ill Idea of the Kings and Princes who adhered to *Antony*. And indeed there was not One of them that made the least Shew of Judgment and Conduct in the Action which followed, wherein *Antony* was overthrown.

see how she was inferior to any of his Companions in Prudence and good Sense, considering how well she had governed a great Kingdom by herself alone, and by the constant Management of Affairs was arrived to a great Capacity. These Arguments gained upon his Spirit, for it was destined by Fate, that *Cæsar* should have All: So that joining their Forces, they made Sail for *Samos*, where they made very good Chear; for as it was ordered that all Kings, Princes and Governours, all Common-wealths, and Cities within the Circuit and Dependances of *Syria*, the *Mæotide* Lake, *Armenia*, and *Illyria*, should bring, or cause to be brought all Preparations and Munition necessary for War; so was it also proclaimed, that all such as made any Profession of Divertisement, should make their Appearance at *Samos*; so that (while that the whole World was in Tears and Lamentation) this Island for some Days was filled with all-sorts of Harmony, and the Theatre crowded with Dancers and Comedians, each City sent Oxen for Sacrifice, and the Kings that accompanied *Antony* were in a perpetual Dispute, Who should make the most magnificent Feasts, and the greatest Presents. Infomuch that it became a common Question among the Observers, *What will they not do by way of Triumph when they have got the Victory, since they are at such an Expence of Merriment at the opening of the War?* When these Festivals, which lasted for many days, were accomplished, he gave *Priene* to his Players for a Habitation, and then set Sail for *Athens*; where he again gave himself up to Pleasure, Sports and the Representations of the Theatre. *Cleopatra* being jealous of the Honour *Octavia* had received at *Athens* (for *Octavia* was much beloved by the *Athenians*) insinuated her self into the Favour of the People with all the Civilities imaginable: The
Athenians,

Athenians, in requital, having decreed her Publick Honours, deputed several of the Citizens to wait upon her at her House. At the Head of this Deputation was *Antony* Himself, who was free of that City, and He was the Person who was chosen their Speaker. At the same time he sent some of his proper Officers to *Rome* to remove *Octavia* out of his House. It is said she left it, carrying with her all his Children, except his Eldest by *Fulvia*, who was with his Father, and that she burst out into Tears in Consideration that she might be looked upon as One of the Causes of the Civil War. The *Romans* pitied her Misfortunes, as they did *Antony's* Weakness, especially as Many as had seen *Cleopatra*, who was not preferable to *Octavia*, either for Youth or Beauty. *Cæsar* having an Account what great Preparations *Antony* had made, was afraid lest he should be forced to an Engagement that very Summer, for he wanted many Necessaries, and the extraordinary Taxes which he was forced to lay for the raising of Money for the Service, proved very burdensom to the People; for every Man was obliged to pay a fourth part of his yearly Revenue, and the Libertines or Sons of Freed-men an eighth of their Estates. This raised a general Cry against him, and put all *Italy* in a Ferment; insomuch that it was looked upon as one of the greatest of *Antony's* Overights, that he did not then press the War; for by delaying it he gave *Cæsar* leisure to provide himself, and satisfy the People; who whilst the Money is squeezing out of them are very mutinous, but when once they have parted with it they think no more of it, but rest satisfied.

Titus and *Plancus*, Men of Consular Dignity, and Friends to *Antony*, having been ill used by *Cleopatra*, whom they had opposed in her Design of
being

being present in the War, came over to *Cæsar*; and being acquainted with the Contents of *Antony's* Testament informed Him of the Contents of it. It was deposited in the Hands of the Vestal Virgins, who denied to deliver it up, but sent him word, if he pleased, he might come and seize it Himself; which he did; and reading it first over in private, he made a Mark upon those Places which he thought most for his Purpose. After This he called the Senate, and had it read to them, at which Many were scandalized, for they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of Proceeding to punish a Man in his Life-time for what was not to be put in Execution 'till after his Decease. He insisted more especially upon that part of the Will which related to his Burial, for he had ordered that though he died in the City of *Rome*, his Body should be solemnly carried through the Market-Place, and sent to *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. *Calvisius*, a Dependant of *Cæsar's*, urged other Crimes against *Antony*, committed by him in Favour of *Cleopatra*, as That he had given her the Library of *Pergamum*, wherein were two thousand distinct Volumes: That at a solemn Feast he had risen from the Table, and treading upon her Foot, had given her a manifest Affignation: That he had suffered the *Ephesians* to salute her by the Name of *their Queen*: That he had frequently at the publick Audience of Kings and Princes, received amorous Messages written in Tablets made of Onyx and Chrystal, and read them openly: That when *Turnius*, a Man of great Authority and Eloquence among the *Romans*, was pleading, *Cleopatra* happening to pass by in her Chair, *Antony* should leave them in the middle of their Cause, and wait upon her home: But *Calvisius* was looked upon as the Inventer of most of these Accusations. *Antony's* Friends went up and down the City to gain him Credit, and sent *Germinius* to him

him to let him know his Affairs required him to be more circumspect; that he was in danger of having (1) his Office of Consul and all his Governments taken from him, and of being proclaimed an Enemy to the City of *Rome*; but *Geminus* no sooner arrived in *Greece*, but he was looked upon by *Cleopatra* as one of *Octavia's* Spies. Under that Persuasion she ridiculed him, and made him the constant Jest of the Table, where he was always placed at the lower End. *Geminus* endured all her Affronts and Outrages with much Patience, in hopes still of having one Hour with *Antony*. At last *Antony*, instead of giving him a private Audience, asked him one Night at a full Table what it was brought him thither? He answered, *That his Business might very well deserve a serious Conference; but one thing he had to deliver, which might be spoke either full or fasting, which was, That Matters would bear a much better Face, if Cleopatra would return into Ægypt: Antony being very angry, Cleopatra told him, Geminus, you have done very well to tell us this important Secret without a Rack.*

A few days after This *Geminus* watched his Opportunity, and made his Escape to *Rome*; and many more of *Antony's* Friends were driven from him, by the insupportable Usage they received from *Cleopatra's* Flatterers. Amongst These were *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Historian. The last declared, that *he was afraid of his Life, and that Glaucus the Physician had informed him of Cleopatra's Design against him.* She was angry with him for having said that *Antony's Friends were served with sour Wine, and that at Rome, Sarmenus drank no-*

(1) And so it happened; for nity he was deprived, as likewise he had been named Consul for of all his Governments, and declared an Enemy to the Romans.
thing

thing but Falernum. (1) This *Sarmentus* was one of those Youths *Cæsar* entertained for his Pleasures, such as the Romans call *Diliciae*, Mignons. *Cæsar* was no sooner in readiness, but he declared War against *Cleopatra*, and *Antony's* Government was taken from him, for being ruled by a Woman: *Cæsar* added, that *Cleopatra* had so bewitched *Antony* with her Charms and Potions that she had bereaved him of his Senses; and that it was not *Antony* who was to manage the War against the Romans, but *Mardion* the Eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Irass*, *Cleopatra's* Waiting-woman, and *Charmion*, who were become *Antony's* Counsellors, and Prime Ministers of State.

It is said that this War was preceded by many Signs and Prodigies. The City of *Pisaurum*, where *Antony* had settled a Colony upon the *Adriatick*, was swallowed up in an Earthquake; a Marble Statue of *Antony*, at *Alba*, sweat for many Days together; and though it were often wiped, it continued sweating. Whilst He Himself was in the City of *Patras* the Temple of *Hercules* was destroyed by Lightning: At *Athens*, *Bacchus* was by a violent Wind blown out of (2) the *Gigantomachia*, and born into the Theatre. Now *Antony* pretended to derive his Pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a Profession of imitating *Bacchus* in his way of Life, causing himself for that Reason, as we have before observed, to be called the young *Bacchus*. The same Whirlwind falling at *Athens* upon the Statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus* called *Antonine*, brought Them down particularly from amongst ma-

(1) This is the *Sarmentus* mentioned by *Horace*, *Sat. v. Lib. 1.* where he gives us the Description of a Combat betwixt Him, and another Buffoon called *Cicerrus*.

(2) A publick Edifice in *Athens*, where the Battel of the Gods with the Giants was represented in Painting.

ny Others that stood equally exposed. And in *Cleopatra's* Admiral, which was called *Antonias*, a dismal Prodigy happened. Some Swallows had built in the Stern of the Admiral, but Others came, and beat Them away, and destroyed their Nests.

When both Sides had prepared themselves for the War, it appeared that *Antony* had no less than five hundred Gallies well appointed, most of them had eight and ten Banks of Oars, so very rich, that they seemed designed for Shew and Triumph. His Land-Forces were composed of a hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. He had of Vassal Kings attending, *Bocchus* of *Libya*, *Tarcondemus* of the Upper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comma-gena*, and *Adallas* King of *Thracia*; all these attended him in the War. Many others who could not serve in Person, sent him their Contributions of Forces, *Polemon* of *Pontus*, *Manchus* of *Arabia*, *Herod* of *Jury*, and *Amyntas* still King of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*; and even the King of *Media* sent him a very considerable Reinforcement.

Cæsar on his part had no more than two hundred Gallies, but Those well appointed, Eighty Thousand Foot, and in the Number of his Horse he was pretty equal with *Antony*. *Antony* had under his Command all that Tract of Land which lies betwixt *Euphrates* and the *Ionian* Sea, and great part of *Illyria*. *Cæsar's* Government extended from *Illyria* to the Westward Ocean, and from the Ocean all along the *Tuscan* and *Sicilian* Sea; as for the Division of *Africk*, *Cæsar* had all the Coast that was opposite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Antony* the Provinces from *Cyrene*, reaching up into *Æthiopia*. He was so besotted with the Love of *Cleopatra*, that tho' he was much superior to the Enemy in Land-Forces, yet out of Complaisance to his Mistress, he rather chose to engage

him by Sea, and tho' he could not but see how ill his Navy was supplied; his Captains for want of Mariners pressing in Greece, which had been exhausted long before, every one they met, Carriers, Officers, Labourers, and even Boys; and for all This, the Vessels had not their Complement, but remained in a very ill plight for Sailing. On the other Hand *Cæsar's* Ships were not built for Ostentation or Pomp; they were light and nimble, well manned, and supplied with all necessary Accommodations. He had them ready riding at Anchor in the Ports of *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, from whence he sent to *Antony* to urge him not to draw out the time in delays, but to bring up his Forces, offering to give him secure Ports for his Fleet, and that for his Land-Forces he would allow him as much Ground to Encamp in, as a Horse could run over from the Sea-side up the Continent. *Antony* on the other side bravely challenged him to a single Combat, though he were much the older, and sent him word that if That was not to be accepted he would meet him in Battel-array in the *Pharsalian* Fields, there where *Cæsar* and *Pompey* decided Their Quarrel. Whilst *Antony* was at Anchor before *Actium*, where now stands *Nicopolis*, *Cæsar* crost the *Ionian* Sea, and gained *Toryne* a Place in *Epirus*, upon which *Antony's* Soldiers were ready to Mutiny in consideration that their Land-Forces were not yet arrived; but *Gleopatra* turning it into a Jest, (1) *Indeed*, said she, *we ought to tremble now Cæsar has taken Toryne*. The next Morning as soon as it was light, *Antony* perceiving the Enemy making up to him, and not being assu-

(1) It is impossible to preserve the Beauty of this Allusion in our Language. *Toryne* which in this place is made use of as the Name of a Town, signifies likewise a Ladle, and the Witticism lies there. It is as if *Cleopatra* had said, *indeed we ought to tremble now Cæsar has taken the Ladle to skim the Pot*.

red that his Gallies, so ill provided, would be able to stand the Shock, armed all the Rowers, and placing them upon the Decks made a Shew of being in readiness to engage; the Oars were mounted on each side of the Vessels, and so he sailed up into the Mouth of the Port of *Actium*, as tho' he were in all points provided for an Engagement. *Cæsar*, deceived by this Stratagem, retired. It appears also that *Antony* very cunningly deprived him of Water; for being informed that there was very little, and That very unwholsom, in all the Parts adjacent to his Camp, he surrounded it with Forts and Trenches, on purpose to prevent their going to fetch it at any Distance. His Carriage to *Domitius* was very generous, and much against the Will of *Cleopatra*, for when he had made his Escape in a little Boat to *Cæsar*, having then an Ague upon him, although *Antony* could not but resent it highly, yet he sent after him his whole Equipage, with his Friends and Servants; and *Domitius* died soon after, under the Terrors of a guilty Conscience for his Infidelity and Desertion. Among the Kings also, *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus* went over to *Cæsar*. His Fleet was so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and so unready upon every Design, that *Antony* was constrained to lay his stress upon the Land-Forces; and *Canidius*, who commanded the Legions, when he saw how things stood, changed his Opinion, and now was of Advice that *Cleopatra* should be sent back, and that *Antony* should retire into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, there to decide the Quarrel in a Land Fight, and the rather because *Dicomes* King of the *Getæ* was in a readiness to attend him with a great Army, and that it was not in the least any Disparagement to him to quit the Sea to *Cæsar*, who during the *Sicilian* Wars had gained so great Experience in Sea Affairs, but that it would seem

very ridiculous for *Antony*, the most experienced Land Officer in the World, to make no other use of his well-disciplined and stout Troops, but to disperse them on board several Ships, and render them useless in the Defence of a Navy. And yet in spite of all these Remonstrances, *Cleopatra* carried it that a Sea-fight should determine the whole Affair. For she had then thoughts of flying, then she was deliberating, and ordering her Affairs, not how to be assisting to *Antony* in obtaining the Victory, but how she might, when all was lost, make her Escape with greatest Safety. There was a long neck of Land, which from *Antony's* Camp ran into the Sea, where his Fleet rid at Anchor. Here *Antony* used to walk to visit his Ships, without suspecting any danger. But being observed by one of *Cesar's* Servants, he went, and told his Master that it would be no difficult matter to surprize him. *Cesar* immediately ordered an Ambush to be placed for that Purpose, and they were so near taking him, that they seized on the Person that walked just before him; and had they not risen with too much Precipitation they had certainly seized on *Antony* Himself, who was forced to fly for it, and had much ado to get off.

When he had determined in himself to engage by Sea (1) he set Fire to all the *Ægyptian* Ships but Sixty, and the best of his Gallies from three Ranks of Oars to ten he manned with twenty thousand Soldiers, and two thousand Archers. Here it is reported that a Foot Captain, an old experienced Officer, who had fought often under *Antony*, and had his Body all mangled with Wounds, called to him and said, *O most noble General, why do*

(1) He was well acquainted with the Effeminacy of the *Ægyptians*, and was afraid they would turn Tail as soon as the Fight began. For which reason he left them no more Ships than what served them as a Guard for *Cleopatra*.

you mistrust these Wounds and this Sword, so as to put your Confidence in rotten Wood? Let Egyptians and Phœnicians contend at Sea, but give Us the Land, where we will die upon the spot or gain the Victory. To This *Antony* answered nothing, but by his Looks and Motion of his Hand seemed to bid him be of good Courage, and so passed forwards, having Himself no Opinion of the posture of his Affairs; (1) insomuch that when the Pilots were for leaving their Sails behind he would not suffer it, but commanded them to put 'em All aboard, saying, *We must not let one Enemy escape us.* That Day, and the three following, the Sea ran so high that they could not engage, but on the Fifth there was a Calm and then they fought. *Antony* commanded the right Wing in Conjunction with *Publicola*; *Cælius* commanded on the Left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Justeius* the Main Body. *Octavius* gave the Charge of the left Squadron to *Agrippa*, commanding the Right in Person. As for the Land-Forces, *Canidius* was General for *Antony*, and *Taurus* for *Cæsar*; both Armies being drawn up in great Order all along the Shoar. *Antony* in a small Vessel went from one Ship to another encouraging his Soldiers, and advising them to stand firm, assuring them that the Bulk of the Ships would render the Fight as fixed, as if they were at Land. He commanded the Masters of his Ships to receive the Enemy without stirring, but lying still as at Anchor, and to keep within the Entrance of the Gulph. They relate of *Cæsar*, that going out of

(1) The Pilots were for leaving the Sails behind, because they thought they could be of no Service to them in the Fight. But *Antony* obliged them to take 'em with them, foreboding that tho' they could be of no Use to him in the Engagement, they would be absolutely necessary in a Flight; but he put a good Face upon a bad Matter. *Cæsar* had left all His Sails behind. being prepared for nothing but Action.

his Tent before Day in order to visit his Fleet, he met a Man driving an Ass, and asking his Name, he told him it was *Eutychus* (which signifies Fortune) and my Ass, says he, is called *Nicon* (which is Conqueror:) For this reason when in Token of his Victory he afterwards adorned that Place with the Beaks of the Ships he had taken, he caused two Statues of Brass to be erected in the same Place, One representing the Man, and the Other his Ass. Having viewed his whole Fleet, and from the right Squadron discovering the Enemy's Posture, he much admired the quiet Order they were in, for in all appearance they seemed as if they were lying at Anchor. He was of that Opinion a good while, which made him slacken his Sails, and keep about eight Furlongs distant from the Enemy. About Noon a gentle Gale blowing from the Sea, *Antony's* Soldiers impatient of these Delays, and trusting to the Bulk and Height of their Ships, which they thought rendered them invincible, put their left Wing in Motion. *Cæsar* beheld This with great Satisfaction, and ordered his right Wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the Enemy as far out of the Strait as possible, that his Gallies, which were light, and nimble Sailors, might have an Opportunity of surrounding *Antony's* heavy Ships, whose Bulk, and want of Hands in Proportion to their Rates, made them sluggish, and unfit for Action.

When the Fight began there was no boarding, or running one Ship upon Another; because on the one Side Those of *Antony*, by reason of their Size and Burden, were incapable of a violent Motion, without which no Breach can be made upon the Ship on which they Strike; and on the Other, *Cæsar's* Ships were so far from venturing to run their Heads against the Heads of *Antony's*, which were all armed with strong iron Spikes, that they dared not even to bear upon their Sides, by reason

they

they
faste
this
I m
strop
Ven
then
vent
in a
them
Wea
Agi
hem
he f
with
made
heart
push
still
deter
Ship
their
gag
Ship
were
The
they
for
him
racte
was
conf
Soul
born
she v

(1)
running
the m

they were made of strong square pieces of Timber fastened together with massy Pins of Iron. So that this Engagement resembled a Land Fight, or that I may speak more properly, the Attack of some strong Place, for there were always three or four Vessels of *Cæsar's* about one of *Antony's*, pressing them with Pikes, Javelins, Darts, and several Inventions of Fire, which they flung among them as in a real Assault, whilst *Antony's* Men poured upon them, as from wooden Towers, and Batteries, Weapons of a monstrous Size. In the mean time *Agrippa* extended his left Wing with a Design to hem in the Enemy, which when *Publicola* observed he found himself obliged to take up more Sea-room with His in order to prevent him. This Motion made him leave the main Body, which was disheartened at it, and was at the same time vigorously pushed (1) by *Arruntius*. However the Victory still remained doubtful, Fortune having not as yet determined of the Day; when on a sudden the sixty Ships belonging to *Cleopatra* were seen to crowd all their Sails, and to fly athwart Those that were engaged, for they were posted behind those bulky Ships, and put them into disorder now when they were forced to open, and make way for them. The Enemy beheld them with some Surprize, when they saw them with a fair Wind steering their Course for *Peloponnesus*. Here it was that *Antony* betrayed himself; here his Behaviour was so below the Character of a Captain, nay, indeed of any thing that was Man, and much more below Himself, that he confirmed what has been observed, that a Lover's Soul lives in another Body; for as if he had been born part of her, and so to be carried wheresoever she went, as soon as he saw her Ship under Sail,

(1) It must therefore be *L. Arruntius* who had the Command of the main Body in *Cæsar's* Fleet. | This is more than we are told by *Plutarch*; perhaps it is wanting in the Text, and ought to be added.

forgetting every thing, forgetting even Himself, he abandoned and betrayed Those who were sacrificing their Lives in his Service, and put himself aboard a Galley of five Ranks of Oars, taking with him only *Alexander* of *Syria*, and *Scellius*, to follow Her who had so well began his Ruin, and would be sure to accomplish it. She perceiving him to follow gave the Signal to come aboard; and as soon as he was come up with her he was helped into the Ship, but without seeing her he went and placed himself at the Stern, where he remained in a melancholy Posture, supporting his Head with both his Hands. In the mean while, *Cæsar's* light Ships that were in pursuit of *Antony*, came within sight, but *Antony* commanding his Pilot to tack about and make up towards them, they All gave back, except *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who from off the Deck shook his Lance at him in a very threatening Manner. *Antony* from the Stern demanded of him, *Who he was that pursued him so hard? I am*, says he, *Eurycles the Son of Lachares, armed with Cæsar's Fortune to revenge my Father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a Robbery. However *Eurycles* would not venture to attack *Antony*, but ran with his full force upon the other Admiral, for there were two Ships so distinguished, and with the Blow turned her round and took Her and another Ship, wherein was all his rich Plate and Furniture. So soon as *Eurycles* was gone, *Antony* returned to his Posture and sat silent; thus he behaved himself for three days, either angry or ashamed, and then arrived at *Tenarus*. There the Ladies who were intrusted with their most important Affairs, first brought them to speak together, then to eat, and at last persuaded them to lie together. By this time several of his Ships, and a great many of his Friends, who had escaped after the Defeat, were come up to

to him, and told him that his Fleet was quite destroyed, but that they believed his Land-Forces remained entire. Hereupon he sent Messengers to *Canidius* to march his Army through *Macedonia* into *Asia*; and being Himself determined to proceed from *Tenarus* into *Africa*, he gave one of the larger Ships laden with vast Sums of Money, and Vessels of Silver and Gold of an inestimable Price, to his Friends, desiring them to share it amongst them, and provide for their own Safety. But They refusing it with Tears in their Eyes, he comforted them with all the Goodness imaginable, intreating them to retire, and writ Letters in their Behalf to *Theophilus* his Steward at *Corinth*; in which he recommended it to him to provide for their Security, and keep them concealed, 'till such time as they could make their Peace with *Cæsar*. This *Theophilus* was the Father of *Hipparchus*, who had so great Interest in *Antony*, and was the First of all his Freedmen that went over to *Cæsar*; he settled afterward at *Corinth*. In this Posture were *Antony's* Affairs.

As for his Fleet, which engaged *Cæsar* before *Actium*, it made a brave Defence for a long time; 'till at last having suffered much by a stiff Gale which blew hard a-stern, it was forced to give way about Four in the Afternoon. There were not above five thousand Men slain in the whole Action, but then *Cæsar* took three hundred of his Ships, as He Himself hath written. There were not Many who beheld *Antony's* Flight, which seemed incredible to Those who had not seen it with their own Eyes. They could not be brought to believe that a General who had nineteen Legions entire, and twelve thousand Horse, could so basely desert them, and He above all the World, who had so often seen Fortune in all her Shapes, and been so accustomed to Changes. His Soldiers, who passionately

nately desired his Arrival, still fancying he would appear from some Part or other, gave such great Testimonies of their generous Fidelity to his Service, that when they were thoroughly persuaded that he was fled in Earnest, they nevertheless kept themselves in a Body seven Days together without listening to the Embassadors sent them by *Cæsar*. But at last, when they understood that *Canidius* Himself, who commanded them, was fled from the Camp by Night, and that the chief Officers had abandoned them, they then put themselves into the Hands of Him who was the strongest, and surrendered to the Conqueror.

After this great Success *Cæsar* set sail for *Athens*, and having forgiven the *Greeks*, he made a Distribution of the Corn that had been provided for the War, and still remained, among their Cities, which were reduced to extream Poverty; having been robbed of their Money, their Slaves, their Horses, and all their Beasts of Service. My great Grand-Father *Nicearchus* used to relate, that the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Greece* having no Horses, were compelled with Stripes to carry a certain Measure of Corn upon their Shoulders to the Sea-side, as far as (1) *Anticyra*; but this Hardship did not last long, for when they were just ready for the second Expedition, News came of *Antony's* Defeat, and This saved *Cheronea*, for that very Moment the Commissaries and all the Soldiers fled, and left the Inhabitants to divide the Corn among Themselves.

(1) There were two Towns of that Name, One situated on the Gulph of *Corinth*, and the Other on the *Maliack* Gulph in *Pthiotis*. It is thought that the Last is That which is mentioned here by *Plutarch*; but I am of Opinion he meant the Former, for from Thence lay the readiest way to *Actium*, where *Antony* lay, to whom the Provisions were to be transported, unless *Cæsar's* Fleet was so disposed as to intercept them, and force them to take a larger Compuls.

When

W
from
took
wand
Com
Rhet
ment
Batte
suffer
Brut
so sen
him,
To
stood
to w
that
New
Hims
Frien
patra
Betw
Nec
and
bove
a Pr
of L
Sea,
mot
cure
lies
Ara
that
defin
the
But
(1)
the
bians

When *Antony* came into *Libya*, he sent *Cleopatra* from the Town of *Parætonium* into *Ægypt*, and betook himself to a melancholy Desert, where he wandered up and down, attended only by two Companions, One of them *Aristocrates* the Greek Rhetorician, and the Other That *Lucilius* of whom mention has been made in another Place, who at the Battel of *Philippi*, in order to favour *Brutus's* Escape, suffered himself to be taken, pretending that he was *Brutus*, and being afterwards saved by *Antony*, was so sensible of the Obligation, that he never forsook him, but remained firm to him to the very last.

To add to the Afflictions of *Antony*, he understood that He who commanded for him in *Libya*, to whose Care he had committed all the Troops of that Country, was gone over to *Cæsar*. This News prompted him to lay violent Hands upon himself, in which he was prevented by one of his Friends, and coming to *Alexandria*, he found *Cleopatra* busied in a most prodigious Undertaking. Between the *Red-Sea* and the *Ægyptian* lies a small Neck of Land, which separates *Asia* from *Africk*, and which, in the narrowest Place, is not much above thirty six Miles over. *Cleopatra* had formed a Project of dragging her Gallies over this Neck of Land, and of setting them on Float in the *Red-Sea*, with all her Riches aboard, to seek some remote Country, where she might live in Peace, secure from War and Slavery: (1) But the first Gallies which were carried over being burnt by the *Arabians* of *Petra*, and *Antony* not knowing but that the Army before *Actium* stood yet firm, she desisted from her Enterprize, and gave Orders for the fortifying all the Avenues of her Kingdom. But *Antony* leaving the City and the Conversation

(1) It appears from *Dion* that the Vessels burnt by the *Arabians* were not Those she had

hauled over the <i>Isthmus</i> , but some	that had been built on that side:
<i>Lib. 51.</i>	

of his Friends, built him a House near the *Pharos*, upon a little Mount which he had cast up in the Sea, and there secluding himself from the Company of Mankind, he resolved to imitate the Life of *Timon*, because he had received the same hard Usage; for, like Him, he met with nothing but Ingratitude and Injuries from Those who had the highest Obligations to him, for which reason he was resolved to hate and mistrust all Mankind.

This *Timon* was a Citizen of *Athens*, and lived in the Time of the *Peloponnesian War*, as may be seen by the Comedies of *Aristophanes* and *Plato*, in which he is lashed as the Hater and Enemy of Mankind: This Man avoided and despised the converse of every Mortal, only he courted the Friendship of *Alcibiades*, who was at that time very young, but of a bold enterprizing Temper. *Apemantus* was astonished at this Preference and Distinction, and demanding the Reason, *Ob*, says *Timon*, you cannot imagine what Mischiefs this young Man will one day do the Athenians. He never admitted any one into his Company but This *Apemantus*, who was much of the same Humour, and a zealous Imitator of his Way of Life. One Day at the Celebration of the (1) Festival called *Choes*, They Two

were

(1) M. Meziriac has discovered an Error both in the Latin, and other Versions of this Passage. It stands in the Latin Version, *Quum aliquando inferiarum solemne esset*, and in the Modern, *The Celebration of the Feasts for the Dead*. Both the One and the Other have been misled by the Word *χοαί*, which indeed signifies *Libations poured out to the Dead*, but in this place *χόες* has a quite different Signification. We are to know that in the Month of *March*, *Antheſterion*, the *Athenians* celebrated to the Honour of

Bacchus a Feast called *Antheſteria*, which held for three Days together. The first Day, which was the Eleventh of the Month, was called *Pithoigia*, because on that day they pierced their Wines. The Next, being the Twelfth, was called *Choes*, and the third *Cutroi*. The Second was called *Choes*, because on that day the *Athenians* drank very plentifully to the Sound of their Trumpets, and He who had drank a Measure of Wine called *χόες*, *Congius*, received a Present of Another full of Wine, and a Chaplet of

Flowers.

were eating together, and *Apemantus* saying to him, *Oh Timon, this is a pleasant Feast: (1) It would be so indeed,* answered he, *if Thou wert away.*

It is farther said of him, that another Day in a full Assembly he mounted the Tribunal, when the Novelty of the Thing created a general Silence and Attention, whilst he addressed himself to the People in the following manner. *Ye Men of Athens, in a Court-yard belonging to my House grows a large Fig-tree, on which many an honest Citizen has been pleased to hang himself. Now as I have Thoughts of building on that Spot, I could not omit giving You this publick Notice, to the End that if any more among You have a mind to make the same Use of my Tree they may do it speedily before it is destroyed.* After his Death he was buried near *Hales* on the Sea-Coast. The Earth happening to give way round his Monument the Water broke in, and made it inaccessible. The following Inscription was engraven on it.

*The Wretch's Heart who here doth lie
Did burst with Grief and Misery.
Ask him not his Name to tell,
But God confound ye all, farewell.*

Flowers. The third Day was called *Cutroi*, because they dressed in a large Kettle, *κύτρα*, all Sorts of Legumes, which nevertheless were to be touched by no body. However *M. Meziriac* has not entered into the Beauty of this Passage, which lies in This, that on the second day called *Choes* they offered Sacrifices to the Terrestrial *Mercury*; and it is very likely that on that Occasion some Mention was made of the Dead. which it was the Office of that Deity to conduct down to the infernal Regions. To This points the Saying of *Apemantus*, who being as perfect a Man-hater as *Timon*, cries out to him, *Oh Timon*

this is a pleasant Feast! No Feast could be more agreeable to Him and Timon, than That which was celebrated to the Honour of the Terrestrial Mercury, the Conductor of the Dead. Herein consists the Wit of the Saying, which would otherwise be something insipid.

(1) *Timon* did not scruple owning himself of his Opinion; but at the same time he adds a Stroke fit for the Mouth of a Person who professedly hated all Mankind. *It would be so, if Thou wert away.* That is, if Thou wert dead, if Thou wert in the Number of Those, who are now under the Conduct of *Mercury*.

This

This Epitaph was said to be made by Himself in his Life-time, That which was more generally known was made by *Callimachus*.

*Here Timon the Man-hater lies; begon:
Curse, Mortal, curse again, but then march on.*

Thus much of *Timon*, of whom much more might be said. *Canidius* Himself brought *Antony* word of the Loss of his Army near *Actium*; at the same time he was informed by other Hands, that *Herod of Judea*, who had under his Command some Cohorts and Legions, had declared for *Cæsar*; that the other Kings and Princes had done the same, and that in a Word One and All, except Those who were near his Person, had deserted him. All This could not in the least move him, but quitting all Hope that he might be rid of all Care, he left his Habitation by the Sea-side which he called his *Timonium*. *Cleopatra* received him into her Palace, where he was no sooner arrived, but he plunged the whole City in Entertainments, Debauches, and all sorts of expensive Extravagances, upon the Occasion of (1) registering *Cleopatra's* Son by *Cæsar* among the young Men; at the same time he gave *Antyllus*, his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, the virile Gown, which was a long Robe without the Purple Border. On Account of these Ceremonies the whole City of *Alexandria* abounded in Shews, Balls, Festivals, Banquets, Masquerades, and all

(1) He did This for two Reasons. The First was that the *Ægyptians* might pay a more ready Obedience when they had a King to command them; the Second was, that in Case of *Cleopatra's* Death, and his Own, the Troops might be more steady whilst those

two Princes were their Generals. And *Dion* very well observes that This proved fatal to them, for *Cæsar* treated them as if they had been Men, as Men who had commanded against him, and never forgave them.

manner

manner of Merriments. As for Themselves, they dissolved the Order of the *inimitable Livers*, and constituted Another in its Place nothing inferior to the Former in Splendor and Luxury, and called it the *Synapotbanumenes*, or *Diers together*. Their Friends entered into this Order, and passed away their Time in all Manner of Pleasures, treating one another by Turns. Notwithstanding This, *Cleopatra* was curious in making a Collection of all manner of poisonous Drugs, and being desirous to know which of them were the least painful in the Operation, she ordered them to be tried upon Such as were condemn'd to die; but finding that those Poisons which had a quick Effect caused sharp Pains and great Convulsions, and that the milder were very long a working, she set her self upon the Examination of venomous Creatures, and caused different Sorts to be applied to different Persons in her Presence. This was her daily Practice, and at last she found that nothing was comparable to the Bite of the Asp, which, without the least Convulsion or Groaning, caused a great Heaviness in the Head and Desire to Sleep, which was attended with a gentle Sweat on the Face, and a Stupor of all the Senses; so that They who were thus affected, seemed sensible of no Pain, but rather troubled to be disturbed or awakened, like Those who are in a profound natural Sleep. They Both sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* in *Asia*, *Cleopatra* petitioned for the Kingdom of *Ægypt* in Favour of her Children; and *Antony*, that he might have leave to live a private Man in *Ægypt*, and if That were thought too much, that he might retire to *Athens*. But forasmuch as most of their Friends had forsaken them, so that Few remained in Whom they could confide, they were forced to employ *Euphro-nius*, their Childrens Tutor, in that Embassy. For *Alexas* of *Laodicea*, who by the Recommendation of
of

of *Timagenes* came acquainted with *Antony* at *Rome*, and had the greatest Power over him of any of the *Græcians*, and was the most successful of all the Instruments *Cleopatra* made use of for disposing *Antony* upon all Occasions to her Purpose, and for making him break the Resolutions he sometimes took of recalling *Octavia*, even This *Alexas* had been sent to *Herod* by *Antony*, to keep that Prince steady in his Interest. But instead of That he betrayed his Master, continued in his Court, and had the Impudence to present himself to *Cæsar*, thinking his Person safe under *Herod's* Protection; which however proved of no Service to him, for *Cæsar* immediately flung him into Prison, and a few days after sent him loaden with Chains into his own Country, where he ordered him to be put to death; so that *Antony* had at least before he died the Satisfaction of seeing *Alexas* punished for his Infidelity to Him.

Cæsar rejected *Antony's* Petition, and returned no other Answer to *Cleopatra*, but that there was nothing in Reason She might not expect from him, provided she put *Antony* to Death, or banished him out of her Dominions. At the same time he sent to her one of his own Freedmen (1) named *Thyreus*, a Man of no ordinary Parts, and not unlikely to succeed, (2) coming

(1) *Dion* calls him *Thyrus*. But *Plutarch* forgets in this place to mention those other Ambassadors sent by *Antony* and *Cleopatra* to *Augustus*, by Whom they made him an Offer of immense Treasures. At last *Antony* sent his own Son *Antyllus* with large Sums in Gold. *Cæsar* took the Gold, but sent *Antyllus* back without granting him any thing, and it was after This that *Augustus* fearing lest Despair should drive him upon a

Resolution of passing to *Gaul*, or *Spain*, to continue the War there, or provoke him to burn all the Wealth *Cleopatra* had been amassing, sent this *Thyreus*, or *Thyrus*, to *Alexandria*.

(2) This Passage ought to be explained by Another in *Dion*, who saith *Thyreus* was instructed to speak in a friendly manner to *Cleopatra*, and insinuate to her that *Cæsar* was captivated with her Beauty. For that Prince flattered him-
self

ing t
cafil
grea
ving
nary
Dist
dere
to C
Carr
mitie
not t
his P
are p
in 2
You
then

Fr
make
and l
ginab
as w
His v
ficer
great
the D
to Ca
fence
defer
he be
Syria
sium
Tow
witho

self wit
man w
be belo
might
the Bai

Vo

ing from an Emperor in his Youth to a vain Woman easily puffed up with her own Praises, and putting too great a Confidence in her Beauty. This Man receiving Audiences longer, and more frequent than ordinary, and being honoured with peculiar Marks of Distinction, made *Antony* jealous; so that he ordered him first to be whipped, and then sent back to *Cæsar*, with Letters signifying, *that his insolent Carriage had provoked him at a time when his Calamities made him too prone to Anger, and when it was not to be expected that he could be a perfect Master of his Passions.* And You Yourself, added he, if You are provoked at this Usage of Your Servant, You have in Your Power *Hipparchus*, One of Mine; whom You may use in the same Manner if you please, and then we shall be upon even Terms.

From this Moment *Cleopatra*, that she might make some Atonement for her own Indiscretion, and lay his Jealousie, made all the Submission imaginable. When Her Birth-day came, she kept it as was suitable to their deplorable Fortune; but His was observed with great Splendor and Magnificence, so that many of the Guests sate down in great want, and went home wealthy Men. After the Defeat of *Antony*, *Agrippa* writ many Letters to *Cæsar*, to let him know how necessary his Presence was at *Rome*; for which Reason the War was deferred for a Season, but the Winter being over, he began his March; He Himself by the Way of *Syria*, and his Lieutenants through *Africk*. *Pelusium* being taken, there went a Report as if that Town had been delivered to *Cæsar* by *Seleucus* not without the consent of *Cleopatra*, but She to justi-

self with the Thoughts that a Woman whose Ambition it was to be beloved by the whole Sex, might be so weak as to swallow the Bait, and be persuaded to kill

Antony, and reserve herself for Him. This Conjecture was not ill founded, for *Cleopatra* began to listen to *Thyrens*.

she her self gave up into *Antony's* Hands the Wife and Children of *Seleucus*. (1) She had caused to be built, joining to the Temple of *Isis*, several Tombs and Monuments of a stupendious height, and very considerable for the Workmanship. Thither she removed her Treasure, her Gold, Silver, Emeralds, Pearls, Ebony, Ivory, Cinnamon, to all which she added prodigious Quantities of Flax, and Torches. This put *Cæsar* in great Pain for the sake of that immense Wealth, and made him afraid lest in a desperate Fit she should set fire to it all, and consume it. For this reason he was daily sending Messengers to her, who were to feed her up with Hopes of a gentle and honourable Treatment; in the meantime he hastened to the City by long Marches.

Upon his Arrival he encamped near the *Hippodrome*, and *Antony* making a fierce Sally, routed the Horse, and beat them back into their Trenches, and so returned with great Satisfaction to the Palace. There meeting *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, he kiss'd her, and recommended to her Favour a brave Soldier, who had signalized himself in that day's Action. She in recompence presented him with a Cuirass and Helmet all of Gold; which He having received, went that very Night and rendered himself to *Cæsar*. After This *Antony* sent a Challenge to *Cæsar* to Fight him Hand to Hand, and received for Answer, *That he might find several other ways to end his Life*. Whereupon considering with himself, that he could not die more honourably than in Battel, he resolved to attack *Cæsar* both by Sea and Land. It is said that That Night at Supper he commanded his Purveyers to

(1) Those Princes did not build lofty magnificent Apartments, as Monuments with a View only to have their Corps deposited in them after their Decease; they were large may be made appear from the Account *Herodotus* has given us of those Structures. spacious Buildings, containing

entertain him in the best manner they could, and fill his Wine plentifully, because it was uncertain if it would be in their Power to render the same Office to him to-morrow; They might become Servants to a new Master, and He lye extended on the Earth, a useless Corpse, a very Nothing. His Friends who were about him, wept to hear him talk in this manner; which he perceiving, told them, he should not lead them out to Fight with greater Expectation of an honourable Death, than of a glorious Victory. At the dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence and Consternation, expecting the Event of the next Day, on a sudden was heard the sound of all manner of Instruments, and a horrible Noise, like to That which is made at the Feasts of *Bacchus*; this tumultuous Procession seemed to have broken in at one Gate of the City, to have quite traversed it, and have gone out at the Gate which the Enemy lay before; and This signified, to Such as pretended to understand Prodigies, that *Bacchus*, the God whom he had always a particular Inclination for, and whom he studied to imitate, had now forsaken him. As soon as it was Light, he marched his Foot out of the City, and posted them upon a rising Ground, from whence he saw his Fleet make up to the Enemy. There he stood in Expectation of the Event; but as soon as ever the Fleets came nigh to one another, His first saluted *Cæsar's*, which having returned the Compliment, they presently joined, and with all their force rowed up towards the City: *Antony* had no sooner seen This, but the Horse deserted him in like manner, and rendered themselves to *Cæsar*; and his Foot being defeated, he retired into the City, roaring out, *That Cleopatra had betrayed him, when he was fighting only for her sake*. She being afraid lest in his Fury and Despair he might do her a Mischief, fled to her Monument, and securing it as fast as she

The LIFE of M

could with Bars and Bolts, (1) she sent to make Antony believe she was dead. He taking it for granted, cried out, *Now Antony, what hast Thou to do in this World? Fate has snatched away the only Cause for which thou cou'dst endure to live.* Going into his Chamber, and opening his Coat of Armour, *I am not* (says he) *troubled, O Cleopatra, to be at present bereaved of thee, for I shall soon be with thee; but This does much afflict me, that I, Antony, so famous a General, should be inferior in greatness of Mind to a Woman.* He had at that time attending him a faithful Servant, whose Name was Eros. He had engaged him formerly to kill him when he should think it necessary, and now he put him to his Promise; Eros drew his Sword, as designing to kill Him, but when his Back was turned he slew Himself; and falling dead at his Feet, *Well hast thou done, my Eros,* said Antony, *since thou hadst not the Heart to dispatch thy Master, thou hast taught him what he ought to do, and instructed him by Thy own Example.* When he had so said he plunged his Sword into his own Bowels, and flung himself upon a Couch that stood near him. However the Wound was not so desperate as to cause an immediate Death, and the Blood stopping a little as he lay upon the Couch, he came by degrees to Himself, and intreated Those who were near him, to put him out of his Pain; but they all fled out of the Chamber, and left him bewailing and tormenting himself, 'till Diomedes, Secretary to Cleopatra, came to him, having been commanded by his Mistress to bring him to Her in the Monu-

(1) Some affirm She did This in hopes he would dispatch Himself upon the first Notice of it, so that as soon as she was free and her own Mistress she might give herself up to Caesar, who, as she fancied, was in love with her. And	yet all This is contradicted by the Death of that Princess, and those passionate Tokens of her Affection to Antony, which she expressed with the greatest Tenderness in his last Moments.
---	---

ment.

M. A N T O N I U S.

35

ment. When he understood she was still alive, he commanded his Servants with a great deal of Ardor to take him up, and they bore him in their Arms to the Door of the Monument: *Cleopatra* would not open the Door, but looking from a Window, she let down Cords, to which *Antony* was fastened, and She and her two Women, who were All that were suffered to enter the Monument, drew him up. They who were present said nothing could be more moving than that Spectacle. *Antony* all covered with Blood, and just expiring, was hoisted up, and stretched out his dying Hands to *Cleopatra*, at the same time raising his Body, as much as the little Strength that was left him would allow of, in aid to the Women, who found what they were about a Work of no small Difficulty to accomplish, *Cleopatra* Herself with her Hands and Face upon the utmost stretch tugging hard, and impatient once more to embrace her beloved *Antony*. They who stood below bore a Share with her in all her Sufferings, gave her all the Assistance they were able, and with loud Huzzas encouraged her. When she had got him up, she laid him on a Bed, rent her Cloaths, which she spread upon him, smote her Breasts, and wiping the Blood from off his Face, she called him *her Lord, her Husband, her Emperor*, and seemed to have forgot her Own miserable Condition, so intent was she upon His Misfortunes. *Antony* comforted her as well as he could, and called for Wine to drink, either that he was thirsty, (1) or that he imagined it might put

(1) Wine has that Effect upon weak languishing Persons; at the same time that it rouseth the Spirits it dissipateth them. This was well understood by *Homer*, who in the sixth book of the *Iliad* where when *Hecuba* offers *Hector* some Wine to drink upon his Re-

turn to *Troy*, after a long and desperate Engagement, he makes the Hero answer,

Inflaming Wine. pernicious to Mankind,

Unnerves the Limbs, and dulls the noble Mind.

Poor him

X 3

him the sooner out of Pain ; when he had drank, he advised her to take her own Affairs into consideration, and as far as it would consist with her Reputation, to compose them ; and that among all the Friends of *Cæsar*, she should apply her self to *Proculeius* ; *that she should not pity Him in this late turn of Fate, but rather rejoice in remembrance of his past Happiness, who had been of all Men that ever lived the most illustrious and powerful, and in the end had bravely fought like a Roman, and been by a Roman overcome.* He was just expiring when *Proculeius* arrived from *Cæsar* ; for when *Antony* had given himself his Death's Wound, and was carried to *Cleopatra*, *Decreteus*, one of his Guards, took up his Sword, and hid it ; and when he saw his Opportunity, stole away to *Cæsar* with the first News of *Antony's* Death, and withal shewed him the bloody Sword in Confirmation of it. *Cæsar* upon this News retired into his Closet, and payed some Tears to the Memory of One who had been his Kinsman, Partner, and faithful Companion in so many Wars and Dangers. At last, taking with him the Letters he had wrote to *Antony*, and the Answers he had received from him, he called his Friends together, and read to them both the One, and the Other, to shew them with how much Reason and Moderation he had always treated *Antony*, and in return what fierce and arrogant Answers he had received from him. After This he sent *Proculeius* to use his utmost Endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his Power ; for he was afraid of losing a great Treasure ; and besides, she would be no small Addition, to the Ornaments of his Triumph ; but she refused to confer with him, any otherwise than from within her Monument, He standing on the outside of the Gate, which was strongly barr'd, but there being some Crevices in it they could hear each other very distinctly. Her Demand was, that her Kingdom might be disposed

to her Children; and He insisted, that she should be of good Courage, and leave entirely to *Cæsar* the Consideration of her Affairs. When he had taken particular Notice, and thoroughly observed the Place, he returned and made his Report to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to confer with her a second time. *Gallus* coming up to the Gate, spoke to her through the Chinks, as *Proculeius* had done, and contrived to lengthen out the Conference as much as he could. In the mean-time *Proculeius* having fixed his scaling Ladders to the Wall, entered in at that Window, through which the Women had pulled up *Antony*, and being followed by two Servants he went strait down to the Door where *Cleopatra* was discoursing with *Gallus*. One of the Women who was shut up in the Monument with her, was heard to cry out, *Oh wretched Cleopatra! thou art taken!* upon This she turned quick about, and spying *Proculeius*, she attempted to stab her self with a Dagger, which hung always at her Girdle. But *Proculeius* running up to her, and seizing her with both his Hands, *For shame* (said he) *Cleopatra, you wrong both your self and Cæsar, whom you would rob of so fair an occasion of shewing his Clemency, and make Him, the most courteous and compassionate Man in the World, be thought a Person implacable, and not to be trusted.* At the same time he forced the Dagger from her, and examined her Robe for fear of any Poison that might be hid therein. After This, *Cæsar* sent *Epaphroditus*, one of his Servants, with Order to treat her with all the gentleness and civility imaginable, but withal to be very intent that he left her no Opportunity of making her self away.

In the mean-while *Cæsar* made his Entry into *Alexandria*, with *Areius* the Philosopher by his side, holding him by the Hand and talking with him, that he might be more valued and esteemed by his

Fellow-Citizens, when they observed how much he was valued and esteemed by *Cæsar*. When he was come into the Place where they performed their publick Exercises he mounted a Tribunal, which had been prepared for that Purpose; from whence he commanded the Citizens, who in great Fear and Consternation lay prostrate at his Feet, to stand up, and told them, *That he forgave all the People of Alexandria: First, for the sake of Alexander, their Founder; Secondly, for the sake of the City it self, the largest and most beautiful in the World; and Thirdly, to gratifie his Friend Areius.* These Honours did *Cæsar* confer upon *Areius*, who not satisfied with such distinguishing Favours interceded in behalf of several Others, among whom was *Philostratus*, a Man of all the Professors of Eloquence the most ready and fam'd, for his extemporary Speeches, (1) but He having pretended without any Grounds to be of the Academy, and his Morals being detested by *Cæsar*, he rejected the Petition preferred to him by *Areius* in his Favour. Notwithstanding This, *Philostratus* suffering his white Beard to grow, and wrapping himself up in a mourning Cloak, was always at *Areius's* Heels repeating a Verse in Greek, signifying (2) *The Wise save the Wise, if they are*

(1) *Cæsar* was provoked to see a Sophister pretend to be of such a Sect in Philosophy. with Sentiments directly opposite to Those maintained by the Members of that Profession. *Philostratus* would pass himself upon the World as a Follower of the Academy, whereas in Fact he led the Life of an Epicurean. If a Man appears what he is, he is not to be blamed but for the unhappy Choice he has made; but to play the Hypocrite in Philosophy, and pretend outwardly to espouse Principles, which we disavow in our Hearts, This is

the most abominable of all Corruptions. And yet This is the very *Philostratus*, who was so highly valued by *Cato of Utica*, on Account of his Philosophy, as *Plutarch* Himself tells us in the Life of that Roman.

(2) The Sense of this Verse is very good. They only, who are wise indeed can save, and a Man must be wise to be profited by their Precepts. This will always hold true, whereas the Sense put upon it by *Philostratus* proves false very often.

Wise

Wise
his
will
Con
dren
by h
the
trive
boun
was
Jew
hang
thou
thei
van
ther
sarie
Cæs
a gr
dia;
as h
infin
Kin
with
(1)
dispe
Kin
Cæs
Fun
Cor
Han
ing
his
the

(1)
lebrate
of H
Kings

Wife indeed. *Cæsar* when he heard of it gave him his Pardon, rather to skreen *Areius* from any Ill-will he might contract on his Account, than in Consideration of *Philoftratus*. Of *Antony's* Children, *Antyllus* his eldest by *Fulvia*, being betrayed by his Tutor *Theodorus*, was put to Death. While the Soldiers were murdering him, his Tutor contrived to steal a precious Jewel which he wore about his Neck, and quilted it in his Girdle: He was charged with it, and denied the Fact; but the Jewel being found upon him, they convicted and hanged him. As for *Cleopatra's* Children, *Cæsar* thought it sufficient to clap a Guard upon Them, their Governours, and as many Officers and Servants, as were necessary to attend them, allowing them very honourably for their Maintenance. *Cæsario*, who is reported to have been the Son of *Cæsar* the Dictator, was sent by his Mother with a great Sum of Money through *Æthiopia* into *India*; but his Governour named *Rhodon*, being just as honest as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to turn back, insinuating that *Cæsar* designed to make him a King. *Cæsar* consulting what was best to be done with him, it is reported of *Areius* that he should say, (1) *a Plurality of Cæsars is not good*, so that he was dispatched soon after the Death of *Cleopatra*. Many Kings and great Commanders made Petition to *Cæsar* for the Body of *Antony*, to give him his Funeral Rites, but he would not dispose of his Corps from *Cleopatra*, who buried him with her own Hands with all Splendor and Magnificence, it being allowed to her to employ what she pleased in his Funeral. The Excess of her Affliction, and the Pain she felt in her Breast, which became in-

(1) This is a Parodie of that celebrated Verse in the second Book of *Homer's Iliad*. *A Plurality of Kings is not good.* *πολυκισαριν* instead of *πολυκοισαριν* is a pat Change, but it cost *Cæsario* his Life.

flamed and ulcerated from the Blows she gave it in the Transports of her Sorrow, flung her into a high Fever, which she thought gave her a just excuse to abstain from Food, and she hoped by Fasting to put an End to a Life, which was so extremely burdensom to her. The Physician in whom she chiefly confided was *Olympus*, to whom she communicated this Design, and made Use of his Advice; As He Himself tells us in the short Account he has left of those Transactions. But *Cæsar* suspecting her Design, threatned to use her Children ill, which was the only Battery capable of forcing her high Spirit, so that she suffered any one to give her what Meat and Physick they pleased.

A few days after *Cæsar* Himself came to make her a Visit, and to comfort her. (1) She was then lying on a Couch in a poor, negligent, forlorn Condition. As soon as He entered, tho' She had nothing on but a thin Tunick, She arose, and flung herself at his Feet, being horribly disfigured, her Hair in Disorder, her Visage wild and bloody, her Voice trembling, her Eyes almost sunk in her Head with weeping, and her Bosom all over Wounds and Contusions. In a word, it was very visible that her Body was in as deplorable a Condition as was her Mind. And yet notwithstanding all This, that Air which was natural and peculiar to her, that lively Mien, which her Beauty inspired, were not quite extinguished, and in spite of those

(1) *Dion* saith she received him in a Room magnificently furnished. Herself lying on a very rich Bed, but in her Person unadorned and neglected; for a plain mourning Dress was what best suited with her Circumstances. There were placed near her several of *Julius Cæsar's* Pictures, and she had in

her Bosom the Letters she had received from him; and *Dion* puts in her Mouth a Speech which turns upon that Subject, as may be seen in his fifty fourth Book, which is worth reading. The Manner wherein *Plutarch* relates this Interview is quite in another Taste.

lamentable

lamentable Circumstances to which she was reduced, even from the bottom of that State of Humiliation, some Sparks like Rays broke forth, and appeared in every graceful Motion.

After *Cæsar* had obliged her to return to her Couch, and had placed Himself by her, She endeavoured to justify herself from the Necessity She was under, and her Fear of *Antony*. But *Cæsar* stopping her short, and confuting her in every Article, she then turned her Discourse, and made use of Prayers and Entreaties to move his Compassion, as if she desired nothing more than to prolong her Life, and at the same time put into his Hands a List of all her Treasure. As *Seleucus*, one of her Treasurers, who was then present, reproached her for her Insincerity, and accused her of suppressing many things of Value, she fell into a Passion, and flying from her Couch, caught him by the Hair, and struck him several Blows on the Face. *Cæsar* could not but smile at this sudden Transport, and endeavouring to pacify her, *Is it not very hard*, *Cæsar*, (said she) *when you do me the Honour of a Visit in this my wretched Condition, that I should be affronted by my own Servants? If I have laid by any Womens Toys, they never were designed Ornaments for one of my miserable Fortune, but that I might have some little Present by me, to make to Octavia your Sister, and your Consort Livia, that by Their Intercession I might hope to find you in some measure disposed to Mercy.* *Cæsar* was pleased to hear her talk at this rate, being now persuaded that she was desirous to live; and he therefore assured her, that the things she had laid by she might dispose of as she pleased, and his Usage of her should be honourable above her Expectation; and so he went away well satisfied that he had over-reach'd Her, but he was Himself deceived. There was among *Cæsar's* Favourites a young Man named *Cornelius Dolabella*, descended

from one of the Noblest Families in Rome. This Gentleman had been captivated by Cleopatra's Charms, and as she had engaged him to advertise her from time to time of every thing that was in Agitation, he sent her Notice privately, that *Cæsar* was about to return into *Syria*, and that She and her Children were to be sent before within three Days. When she understood This, she made her Request to *Cæsar*, that he would be pleased to permit her to make her last Oblations to the departed *Antony*, which being granted, she ordered her self to be carried to the Place where he was buried, and upon her Knees, accompanied by her Women, she embraced his Tomb with Tears in her Eyes, and spake in this Manner, *My dearest Antony*, (said she) *it is not long since with these Hands I buried thee, then they were free, now am I a miserable Captive, and pay these last Duties to thee, with a Guard upon me, for fear my just Grievs and Sorrows should impair my servile Body, and make me less fit to appear in their Triumphs over thee. No further Offerings and Sacrifice expect from me, these are the last Honours that Cleopatra e'er can pay thy Memory, for she is to be hurried away, far from thee. Nothing could part us whilst we lived; but Death now threatens to divide us for ever. Thou a Roman born liest buried here in Ægypt, and I an Ægyptian am to be carried and interred in Italy; and it will be some Pleasure to me to have my Bones deposited in the Country, which gave Thee Birth. But if the Gods of thy Country, with whom thou now art, either can or will do any thing, (1) (for our Gods have forsaken us) suffer*

(1) It was the Opinion of the Heathens that the Gods forsook the Vanquished, and that they would not, or could not protect them. It is upon This Persuasion that *Virgil* saith in the eleventh Book of the *Æneid*,

*Excessere omnes Adytis, arisque
relictis*

Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat
and upon This is founded that Saying in *Tacitus*, *alieni jam Imperii Deos.*

them not to leave me whilst I yet have Life; let me not be led in Triumph to thy Shame, but have a little Room in thy Grave, for amongst all my bitter Misfortunes nothing has prest my Soul so hard as even this short space of time I have lived without thee.

Having made these Lamentations, crowning the Tomb with Garlands of Flowers, and kissing it, she gave Orders to have her Bath prepared. After she had bathed she sat down to Supper, and fed very sumptuously. When Supper was over, a Country-Fellow brought her a little Basket, which the Guards intercepting, and asking what it was, the Fellow put the Leaves which lay uppermost aside, and shewed them it was full of Figs, and they admiring their Largeness and Beauty were invited to take of them, which they refused, and suspecting nothing bid him carry them in: Then *Cleopatra* sent a Letter to *Cæsar*, and putting every Body out of the Monument, but her two Women, she fastened the Doors: *Cæsar* opening her Letter, and finding therein such earnest Requests that she might be buried in the same Tomb with *Antony*, soon guess'd what she was doing; once he was going himself in all haste, but changing his Mind, he sent Others to see how Affairs stood. Her Death was so sudden, that They who were sent by *Cæsar* surprized the Guards with their Apprehensions, and breaking open the Doors found her stone-dead, lying upon her Bed of Gold, set out in all her Royal Ornaments. *Iras*, one of her Women, lay dead at her Feet, and *Charmion* just ready to tumble, scarce able to hold up her own Head, was adjusting her Mistress's Diadem, which was out of Order; and when one of Those who came in said, *Was This well done of your Lady, Charmion? Extreemly well*, she answered, *and becoming so great a Queen*. She had no sooner said This but she fell down dead by the Bed-side. Some relate, that an Asp was brought

brought in amongst those Figs, and covered with Leaves, and that *Cleopatra* had order'd it so, that she might be bit without seeing it; and that, in taking up the Leaves, she should say, holding out her Arm to it, *Art thou there?* Others say, that it was kept in a Glass, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden Spindle; but no one knew the Certainty; for they reported also, that she carried Poison in a golden Bodkin, which she wore in her Hair; but there was not so much as a Spot, or any Suspicion of Poison upon her Body, nor was any living Creature found within the Monument, but a certain Track of a creeping Creature imagined to be seen on the Window side upon the Sand nigh the Sea. Others say *Cleopatra* had two Marks in her Arm, imprinted very small by the Sting of the Asp, to which *Cæsar* seemed to have given Credit, (1) for *Cleopatra's* Statue was carried in Triumph with an Asp fixed to her Arm. With such Uncertainties are these Things related. Although *Cæsar* was very much disappointed by her Death, yet he could not but admire the Greatness of her Mind, and granted that her Body should be buried by *Antony*, with all the Ceremony and Magnificence which was due unto her Quality. Her Women also were buried in great Splendor. *Cleopatra* died in the Nine and Thirtieth Year of her Age, of which she had reigned Twenty Two; the Fourteen last Years jointly with *Antony*: *Antony* died at the Age of Fifty Three, Some say Fifty Six. The Statues of *Antony* were all demolished, but Those of *Cleopatra* remained un-

(1) There wants no greater Authority than This to establish the Opinion, that That was the kind of Death she chose. And This is sufficient to warrant what has been said of it by *Horace*, Ode xxxvii. Lib. 1. and by *Propertius*

Eleg. ix. Lib. 3. *Dion*, after having related what we find here in *Plutarch*, adds, that *Cæsar* caused her to be sucked by the *Psyllæ*, to try if they could not draw out the Poison, and restore her to Life, but it was too late.

touched;

touched; for *Archibius* her Friend had given *Cæsar*
 a thousand Talents on Condition that they should
 not run the same Fate with *Antony's*. *Antony* left
 by his Three Wives seven Children, of which *Antyl-
 lus* the eldest only was put to Death; *Octavia*
 took the rest, and bred them with her Own. *Cleo-
 patra*, his Daughter by *Cleopatra*, was married to
 King *Juba*, the most polite and comely Prince of
 that Age; she made *Antony*, his Son by *Fulvia*, so
 considerable and powerful, that whereas *Agrippa* was
 the chief Favourite of *Cæsar*, and the Sons of *Li-
 via* held the second Rank, the third Place without
 any Dispute was reckoned to be possess'd by Him.
Octavia having also had by her first Husband *Mar-
 cellus*, two Daughters, and one Son named *Mar-
 cellus*, *Cæsar* gave unto Him his Daughter in Mar-
 riage, and by that means adopted him; and *Octa-
 via* gave one of her Daughters in Marriage to *A-
 grippa*; but *Marcellus* dying soon after his Marriage,
 and She perceiving that her Brother was not easie
 to determine Whom to chuse for his Son-in-law,
 was the First to persuade him to give his Daugh-
 ter *Julia* to *Agrippa*, though in so doing he was
 to quit Her Daughter: *Cæsar* agreed to this Pro-
 posal, and married *Julia* to *Agrippa*, and She re-
 ceiving her Daughter back married her to *Antony*.
 Of the two Daughters which she had by *Antony*,
 One of them was married to *Domitius Ænobarbus*,
 and the Other, *Antonia*, famous for her Beauty and
 Discretion, was married to *Drusus* the Son of *Li-
 via*, and Son-in-Law to *Cæsar*. Of this Line came
Germanicus and *Claudius*. *Claudius* came to be Em-
 peror, as did *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus*, who
 after he had reigned a short time with the greatest
 Insolence as well as Infamy, was slain with his
 Wife *Cesonia*, and his Daughter. *Agrippina*, who
 had *Lucius Domitius* by *Ænobarbus*, was afterward
 married to *Claudius Cæsar*. He adopted *Domitius*,
 whom

whom he named *Nero Germanicus*. He was Emperor in our time, and put his Mother to death, and with his Madness and Folly failed little of ruining the *Roman Empire*. He was in the Fifth Degree from *Antony*.



The Comparison of Demetrius with Antony.

FORASMUCH as these two Persons are most remarkable Instances of the Vicissitude of Fortune, let us first consider that Power and Dignity, wherein they Both were once placed. (1) It is certain that the Power of *Demetrius* was prepared for him, and got ready to his Hand by his Father *Antigonus*, the most Potent among all the Successors of *Alexander*, who even in His Infancy had over-run and reduced the best Part of *Asia*. Whereas *Antony*, who had to his Father an honest Man indeed, and in all other Respects a worthy *Roman*; but being a Person of no Fame or Experience in Military Affairs, his Son could inherit from Him no Power, no Means of advancing himself; notwithstanding which he had the Courage to aim at, and the Honour to obtain the Empire of the first *Cesar*, an Empire to which his Birth gave him no manner of Pretension; but turning His Labours and His Conquests to his own Advantage, by the Dint of his own Industry he made himself His Successor, and without any Aid, but what was purely owing to

(1) This is the first Advantage *Antony* has over *Demetrius*. He drops as it were into the Possession of a Kingdom, which had been acquired for him by his Father; whereas *Antony* carves out to Him-

self an Empire to which his Birth gave him no manner of Pretension. Setting the Injustice of the Thing aside, This is an Instance of greater Courage and Industry.

Himself,

Him
who
Shar
feate
Lieut
about
Casp
to h
mon
great
Dau
very
trary
him
Birth
Prin
In a
that
high
pirec
If
Mea
shall
ruled
tions
tony
and
just
Deat

(1)
the
ness,
a Prin
beneat
This i
proach
Grand

V

Himself, soared to such a Pitch, that when the whole *Roman* Empire came to be divided into two Shares, He laid claim to the most valuable; defeated the *Parthians* even in his Absence by his Lieutenants, and drove the Barbarians inhabiting about Mount *Caucasus* as far backwards as to the *Caspian* Sea. Even those Particulars, which turn most to his Disgrace and Infamy, are authentick Testimonies of his Grandeur. *Antigonus* conceived it a great Point gained to have his Son marry *Philla* the Daughter of *Antipater*, tho' she was of an Age very unsuitable to His, (1) whereas on the contrary *Antony* was thought to have undervalued himself in marrying *Cleopatra*, a Queen, who in Birth, Riches, and Magnificence, surpassed all the Princes of her Age, except the great *Arfaces*. In a Word, he had raised himself to such a Degree, that all the World thought him worthier of a higher Fortune than even That, to which he aspired.

If we examine into the Views of Both, and the Means they made use of to obtain the Empire, we shall find *Demetrius* clear of all Imputation. He ruled over People accustomed to obey, over Nations fond of Kingly Government; whereas *Antony* is deservedly taxed with the highest Injustice and Tyranny, in subjecting the *Romans*, who had just redeemed themselves from Monarchy by the Death of *Cæsar*.

(1) In Truth how high must the Idea be of *Antony's* Greatness, when his marrying to such a Princess was thought an Action beneath him? But in Answer to This it may be said, that this Reproach does not arise from the Grandeur of *Antony* in particular,

but from That of the *Roman* People in general. The same Reproach would have fallen upon any other *Roman* General that had married *Cleopatra*. Besides, That Union which is cemented by Debauch can never be honourable.

The Comparison of

The greatest and most illustrious of all *Antony's* Exploits, was the War he undertook against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, on purpose to enthrall his Fellow-Citizens; whereas *Demetrius*, 'till his last Calamities came upon him, (1) daily laboured for the Liberty of *Greece*, by clearing the Cities of the Garrisons which held them in Subjection. How different in This from *Antony*, who prided himself for having destroyed in *Macedonia* those Patriots, who had restored *Rome* to her Liberty!

There is one thing for which *Antony* was highly celebrated; his Liberality and Magnificence in his Donations, and yet even in This *Demetrius* has so much the Advantage, that (2) He bestowed more on his Enemies than *Antony* ever conferred on his Friends. *Antony* was much cried up and esteemed, for having ordered *Brutus* to be honourably interred; but *Demetrius* caused all His Enemies that fell in the Battel to be buried, and sent back his Prisoners laden with Presents to *Ptolemy*.

They Both made an insolent Use of their good Fortune, and plunged themselves into Luxury and Voluptuousness. But no Man can say that *Demetrius* ever slipt the Opportunity of performing a brave and galant Action, for the sake of his Pleasures. He never had recourse to Debauch, but when his Time lay heavy upon his hands; then indeed he indulged himself with his Mistress *Lamia*, who, like the imaginary *Lamia* in the Fable, served to lull him asleep. But when the Trumpet sounded to War, His Lance was not encircled with

(1) The greatest Preference one Man can have over Another, is what *Plutarch* gives here to *Demetrius*. That Prince who makes it his Business to enfranchise Mankind, and set them at Liberty, is a God; whereas He,

who aims at nothing but to enslave them, is a Monster.

(2) This is a wide Difference indeed. What would not That Man do for his Friends, who acts with so much Humanity towards his Enemies?

Ivy,

Ivy, His Casque smelt not of Essence or Perfumes, nor did he come sleek and effeminate out of the Chambers of Wantonness to march to Battel; but leaving behind him all the Bacchanalian Trumpery, all Sentiments of Weakness and Effeminacy, he in an Instant became *the Disciple of Mars the Homicide*, to make use of the Expression of *Euripides*, without ever suffering his Pleasures or Amusements in the least to interfere with his more weighty Concerns, or interrupt the Prosecution of his Designs. This cannot be said of *Antony*, for as we see in the Paintings, *Omphale* stealing away the Club of *Hercules*, and stripping him of his Lyon's Skin, so did *Cleopatra* often strip *Antony* of his Armour, and melting him with her Caresses, she made him suffer many important Occasions to slip out of his Hands, (1) and give over the Prosecution of some glorious Expedition, to go and sport with Her upon the Banks of *Canopus*, or *Taphosiris*. In short, like another *Paris*, he withdrew out of the Battel, and flung himself into Her Arms, (2) or rather more effeminate even than *Paris*, who never withdrew into his Chamber, 'till he had tried his Fortune in the Field, and was overthrown; whereas *Antony*, rather than not be constantly dangling

(1) There is a Passage in the seventeenth Book of *Strabo*, which may serve to illustrate This in *Plutarch*. From Cynossema, saith he, we come to Taposiris, for so he writes it, not the Place so called near the Sea, where a general Assembly meets every Year; but there is another Taposiris not far from the City of Alexandria, near which, by the Sea-side, there is a Place full of Rocks, where the young People meet in the Spring to divert themselves. This is the Place meant here by *Plutarch*. The only Dif-

ficulty that remains, is that *Strabo* placeth it to the West of *Alexandria*, wherein he is followed by our Modern Geographers, whereas *Plutarch* placeth it about *Canopus*, and consequently to the East of that City. I must leave this Point to be settled by Others.

(2) *Plutarch* prefers even *Paris* to *Antony*. This Preference carries a great Force with it; *Plutarch* knew how to put a true colouring upon Vice by the most natural Touches.

after *Cleopatra*, chose to fly from, and abandon Victory.

To This may be added that (1) *Demetrius* married several Women, in which however he was not prohibited by the Laws of his Country, but authorized by the Practice of the Kings of *Macedon*, Descendants from *Alexander*; he did no more therein than follow the Examples of *Lyfimachus* and *Ptolemy*, and to as many as he had married (2) he behaved himself with Honour; whereas *Antony* in the first Place had two Wives at the same time, which 'till then had been a thing unheard of among the *Romans*; and then to make it still the more enormous, he drove from his Bed the *Roman* Lady, Her to whom he was lawfully married, to give himself wholly up to a Stranger, the fatal Object of a lawless dishonourable Passion. (3) From hence it followed, that none of *Demetrius's* Nuptials were attended with any Misfortunes, whereas the Calamities that issued from *Antony's* were infinite.

(4) It must be confessed, that no Impiety is to

(1) When *Demetrius* married several Women at the same time, he did no more than what was warranted by the Laws and Customs of his Country, whereas *Antony* violated Those of *Rome*. Now nothing can be a greater Instance of an unbounded Libertinism, than to insult over the Laws of our Country, and to presume upon what never was attempted before.

(2) *Demetrius* used his Wives as a Husband ought to do, and *Antony* treated His like a Rake. He turned out *Octavia* as if she had been an Adulteress, and used a Prostitute as if he had been joined to her in lawful Wedlock.

(3) This is a very remarkable

Passage for a Heathen. *Plutarch* tells us here in express Terms, that Marriages contracted according to Law are the Fountains of Happiness; whereas all unlawful Engagements founded on Inconstancy are generally attended with fatal Consequences. We need not search into Antiquity to prove the Truth of this Proposition.

(4) It is true that *Antony* did not defame the Temples with his Impurities, as did *Demetrius*. But this was not the Effect of his Veneration for the Gods; it was because he had no Occasion for it. For in the main he did not come behind *Demetrius* in the Article of Impiety

be found in any of *Antony's* Actions, equal to That into which *Demetrius* plunged himself in the Heat of his Debauches. (1) We learn from History, that the *Athenians* never suffered a Dog to enter into the Citadel, because that impure Animal is notorious for lining the Female in the Eye of the World; and yet in the most venerable Recesses of this Citadel, in the very Temple of *Minerva*, did *Demetrius* revel with his Prostitutes; in that holy Place did He defile Many of the *Athenian* Matrons. And even Cruelty, a Vice generally thought inconsistent with Wantonness and Effeminacy, was an Attendant on *Demetrius's* Lasciviousness; for he not only disdained to hinder, but was the very Cause of the Death of one of the most beautiful and virtuous Youths in *Athens*, who chose rather to dye than be dishonoured by him. To sum up all in a Word, *Antony* prejudiced Himself only with his Intemperance; and That of *Demetrius*, at the same time, that it was prejudicial to Himself, it was so likewise to Others.

On the other hand, *Demetrius's* Carriage towards his Parents and Relations was always consistent with his Duty; whereas *Antony* sacrificed his Mother's own Brother, that he might thereby purchase the Life of *Cicero*; (2) an Action so inhuman, and ex-

(1) The impious and sacrilegious Debaucheries of *Demetrius* cannot be expressed in more lively Colours than they are here by *Plutarch*, who gives us to understand that his Impudence was equal even to That of Dogs, and that like Them he ought to have been whipped out of the Temple of *Minerva*.

(2) One cannot better express the Cruelty and Enormity of that Action in *Antony*, who consented

to the Death of his Uncle, in order to procure That of *Cicero*, than by saying it would hardly be excusable even tho' *Cicero* had been sacrificed by him for the Preservation of his Uncle. And this Sentiment is very remarkable in a Heathen; a Man is hardly to be pardoned when he consents to the Death of a Stranger, tho' it be to save the Life of a Relation, even so near as an Uncle.

eccrable, that he would hardly have been excused, even tho' *Cicero's* Life had been forfeited to redeem his Uncle.

Both the One and the Other were guilty of Falshood and Perjury, the One in making *Artabazus* Prisoner, and the Other in killing *Alexander*. It may be said in behalf of *Antony*, that He had been abandoned by *Artabazus* in *Media*, and betrayed to the Enemy; Whereas it is generally said, that *Demetrius* was forced to charge *Alexander* with pretended Crimes, to justify the Murder by calumniating the Innocent, and revenged himself not on the Person who had injured Him, but on Him whom He had injured.

On the other side, the Atchievements and Victories of *Demetrius* were all the Work of his own Hands, of which the very contrary is to be said of *Antony*; for the most important of his Victories were gained by his Lieutenants in his Absence. They Both owed their Ruin to Themselves, but in a different manner, One by being deserted, for the *Macedonians* forsook Him; and the Other in deserting first, for he fled and deserted Those who were fighting His Quarrel, and exposing their Lives for His Sake. (1) Wherefore the Fault with which *Demetrius* is to be charged is his alienating and disobliging his Troops, so as to make them his Enemies; and that of *Antony*, in being wanting to the unexampled Constancy and Fidelity of His.

The Ends of neither were commendable, but That of *Demetrius* was the most dishonourable;

(1) This is a knotty Point, and who is lost for want of coming very hard to be decided. Which up to the Fidelity and Affection is the greatest Error, That of a of His. They are both equally General who loseth himself by dis- mischievous, but I think the last obliging his Army, or of Him is the most dishonourable.

Demetrius *with* Antony.

343

for he suffered himself to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and ignominiously bargained for a three Years Prolongation of Life, and, like Brute Beasts, spent it in eating and drinking. Whereas *Antony* died indeed a dishonourable Death, but it was without suffering his Enemies ever to become Masters of his Person.



Y 4

THE



T H E
L I F E
O F
D E M O S T H E N E S.



HOEVER it was, *Soffius*, that wrote the Poem in Praise of *Alcibiades*, upon his winning the Horse-race at the *Olympian Games*, whether it was *Euripides*, (as it is most commonly reported) or some other Person, he says, *That to a Man's being happy, it is in the first place requisite he should be born in some famous City* : But for Him who would attain unto true Happiness, which for the most part is placed in the Qualities and Disposition of the Mind, it is, in my Opinion, of no other Disadvantage to be of a mean obscure Country, than to be born of a Woman who is uncomely and low of Stature. For it were ridiculous to think that *Iulis*, a little Part of *Ceos*, which itself is no great Island, and that *Ægina*, which a certain *Athenian* once ordered to be removed, as a small eye-sore, out of the Haven of *Pireus*, should breed good Actors and Poets, and yet should never be able to
afford



L. Chéron Inv.

Vol. 7: p. 344.

G. 1^{er} Guiché Sculp.
45



affor
Oth
Ric
and
a ft
in a
Nat
fore
of
such
and
N
Hiff
ther
not
Lan
in o
and
som
Lib
plen
hear
ving
faith
othe
thin
fect
B
wh

(1)
spect.
Auth
will,
in fo
will
ries, a
Occa
of a

afford a Just, Temperate, Wise, and Valiant Man. Other Arts indeed, whose end it is to acquire Riches or Honour, are likely enough to wither and decay in poor obscure Towns; but Virtue, like a strong and durable Plant, takes Root and thrives in any Place, where it can lay hold of an ingenuous Nature, and a Mind that is industrious. Wherefore if either in our Judgment of Things, or Course of Life, we fall short of what we ought to do, such Failure we may justly attribute to our selves, and not to the Meanness of our Country.

Nevertheless, whosoever shall design to write an History consisting of Materials which must be gathered from Observation, and the reading of Authors not easie to be had, nor writ in his own Native Language, but many of them Foreign, and dispers'd in other Hands; (1) for Him it is in the first place, and above all things most necessary, to reside in some City of good Note and Fame, addicted to Liberal Arts, and Populous; where he may have plenty of all sorts of Books, and upon enquiry may hear, and inform himself of such Particulars as having escaped the Pens of Writers, are yet more faithfully preserved in the Memories of Men, lest otherwise he publish a Work deficient in many things, and Those such as are necessary to its perfection.

But for my own part, (2) I live in a little Town, where yet I am willing to continue lest it should still

(1) This is true in every Respect. A Man that sets up for an Author, let his Subject be what it will, it is necessary for him to be in some large Town. There he will find the Assistance of Libraries, and may have recourse upon Occasion to Men of Learning, and of a good Taste, who indeed are not so easy to be met with in Places of less Note and Resort; but the most paurtry Town that is may afford some good Books.

(2) *Plutarch*, after the several Voyages he had made in *Italy* from the Beginning of *Vespasian's* Reign to the end of *Domitian's*, retired at last, and remained in *Charonea*, the

still grow less; and having no leisure, while I abode in *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, to exercise myself in the *Roman* Language, both by reason of some publick Business, and for the sake of Those who came to be instructed by me in Philosophy; it was very late, and in the decline of my Age, before I applied myself to the reading of *Latin* Authors. Upon which occasion, That which happened to me may seem strange, tho' it be true; (1) for it was not so much by the knowledge of Words, that I came to the understanding of Things, as having gained some sort of Experience in Things, by this means I attained to the Signification of Words. But to acquire a graceful and ready Pronunciation of the *Roman* Tongue, to understand the various Figures and Connexion of Words, and such other Ornaments, in which consists the beauty of that Language, it were, I must confess, a pleasant and very agreeable Diversion; but the Study and Exercise which is required to This is not easie, and will better suit with Those who have more Leisure, and Time enough yet before them for such Speculations.

Wherefore in this Book (which of my Parallel Lives is the Fifth) intending to write concerning *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will from their Actions and Employments in the Common-wealth, consider the Natures and Dispositions of Both of them together: (2) But to examine and compare their Orations

the place of his Nativity, to hinder it, little as it was, from growing less; for One wise Man, One Man of Reputation, preserves a City from decay, and makes it considerable.

(1) This commonly happens to Those who study a Language superficially, without searching into

the Principles of it. They first learn the Things, and by Them arrive at the Understanding of the Words; but this is subject to Caution. And *Plutarch* Himself is an Instance of it, for he is often deceived, as we have had Occasion to observe in several Passages.

(2) *Plutarch* had *Latin* enough to

DEMOSTHENES.

347

Orations one against the other ; to shew Which of the Two was the more fluent and pleasing, Which the more close and smart Speaker, that we shall let alone : For there (as *Ion* says)

(1) *We are but like a Fish upon dry Land.*

(2) *Cæcilius* (a Man apt to overshoot himself upon all occasions) was not aware of This, when too rashly he adventured to publish his Comparison of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. But if it were a thing obvious and easie for every Man, to know himself, possibly that Saying, Γνωθὶ σεαυτὸν, had not passed for a Divine Oracle.

Now for *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, the Gods seem from the first to have made them much the same in their Natures and Constitutions, and in their Fortunes much alike ; if we consider their Ambition, their love of Liberty in the Commonwealth, and their want of Courage in Dangers and Martial Affairs. And, I think, there can hardly be found two other Orators, who from small and obscure Beginnings became so great and

to read *Cicero*, and to understand a Treatise of the Sublime, which him tolerably well ; notwithstanding which he would not undertake to set himself up for a Judge of his Eloquence, so as to compare it with that of *Demosthenes*. This is a Modesty we find rarely imitated by our modern Writers.

(1) This is according to the modern Proverb, *We are out of our Element*. The Grecian is best knowing in the Greek, and the Latin in the Latin. Neither the One nor the Other ought to transgress their proper Bounds, at least 'till by a long Course of Study they are become as it were naturalized.

(2) This *Cæcilius* was a famous Rhetorician of Sicily, and lived in the days of *Augustus*. He wrote

is mentioned by *Longinus*, and has been commended by the most celebrated Rhetoricians. One of the most Learned among them, named *Lysimachides*, dedicated to him his Book of the ten Athenian Rhetoricians. He thoroughly understood the Latin Tongue, and lived in an Age when it was in its most flourishing State. And yet notwithstanding all This, *Plutarch* accuseth him of Temerity for pretending to be a Judge of *Cicero's* Eloquence. This Age has produced Writers still more pretending and presumptuous, who want no better an Answer, or Re-proof, than what we find here in *Plutarch*.

mighty

mighty; who Both contested with Kings and Tyrants; Both lost their Daughters, were driven out of their Country, and returned with Honour; who flying from thence again, were both seized upon by their Enemies, and at last ended their Lives together with the Liberty of their Country.

(1) So that if there were a Tryal of Skill between Nature and Fortune, as there is sometimes between Artists, it would be very hard to judge, whether That made these Men more alike in their Dispositions and Manners, or This in their Adventures and Affairs ———

But we will speak of the eldest first. ———

Demosthenes, the Father of *Demosthenes* the Orator, a Citizen of the best Rank and Quality, (as *Theopompus* writes) was Sir-named *The Sword-maker*; because he had a large Work-house, and kept Servants skilful in that Art at Work. But of That which *Æschines* the Orator said of his Mother, (2) that she was descended of one *Gylon*, who fled his Country upon an Accusation of Treason, and of a Barbarian Woman, I can affirm nothing, whether he spoke true, or whether he slandered and bely'd her. This is certain, that *Demosthenes*, being as yet but seven Years old, was left by his Father in a plentiful Condition; (for the whole Value of his Estate was little short of fifteen Talents:) But he was injured by his Guardians, part

(1) This is a noble Idea, which introduceth Nature and Fortune disputing with each other, which of them has rendered *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* most alike, One in their Manners and Dispositions, and the Other in their Fortunes and Circumstances.

(2) This *Gylon* was accused of betraying to the Enemy a Town in *Pontus* belonging to the *Athe-*

nians, named *Nymphaum*. This Accusation made him run his Country, and fly into *Seythia*, where he married a Wife of that Nation, and had by her two Daughters, One of which was married to *Philochares*, and the Other called *Cleobule* to *Demosthenes*, who received with her as a Fortune Fifty Mina. *Demosthenes* the Orator was the Fruit of this Marriage.

of his Fortune being by Them imbezzled, and the rest neglected; insomuch that even his Teachers were defrauded of their Salaries. This was the reason that he had not so liberal an Education as became a Youth of His Quality: Besides, his Mother, in Consideration of the Tenderness and Weakness of his Body, did not put him upon Labour, nor did his Masters force him. He was thin and sickly from his Infancy; and it is said, (1) that in respect of his Bodily Infirmities, the Boys in scorn put upon him the reproachful Nick-name of *Batalus*; now this *Batalus* (as Some say) was a weak effeminate Piper; and *Antiphanes* made a Play on this Subject, in derision of him: Others make mention of *Batalus*, as a Poet, who wrote wanton Songs and Lampoons; and it should seem that a certain part of the Body, not fit to be named, was about that time called *Batalus* by the *Athenians*. But the Name of *Argas* (for This they report to have been a Nick-name of *Demosthenes*) was put upon him for his Behaviour, as being fierce and morose (for (2) some of the Poets call a certain Serpent *Argas*) or for his way of speaking, which was offensive to his Hearers; (for *Argas* was also the Name of a Poet, who made very bad and harsh Sonnets.) But enough of this Article.

(1) But this Name does in no wise suit with a weak infirm, but to a soft and effeminate Person, for it is said of *Demosthenes* that he was a little loose in his Youth, that he went often in Masquerade drest in Women's Cloaths, and that he was fond of merry Meetings. For This Reason he drew upon himself the Nick-name of *Batalus*, which signifies an obscene wanton Fellow, as *Hesychius* explains it. ΒΑΤΑΛΟ, saith he,

καλαπύγων, καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος; κίναδος, ἔκλυτος.

(2) Not only the Poets but even *Hippocrates* speaks of a certain Serpent called *Argas*, or *Arges*; in the fifth Book of his *Epidemics*. Whilst a young Man, saith he, who had been drinking a little too much was lying on his Back, and taking a Nap in a Tent, a Serpent, called *Arges*, came, and crept into his Mouth.

The first occasion of his eager Inclination to Oratory, they say was This; (1) *Callistratus* the Orator being to plead in open Court for the City of *Oropus*, the expectation of the Issue of that Cause was very great, as well for the Ability of the Orator, who had then a most flourishing Reputation, as also for the Fame of the Action it self. Therefore *Demosthenes*, having heard the Tutors and School-masters agree among themselves to be present at this Tryal, with much Importunity persuaded his Tutor to take Him along with him to the Hearing; and He having some Acquaintance with the Door-keepers, easily procured a Place where the Boy might sit unseen, and hear what was said. *Callistratus* having got the Day, and being much admired, the Boy began to look upon his Glory with a kind of Emulation, observing how he was courted on all hands, and magnified by the Multitude. But much more did he wonder at the force of his Eloquence, able to subdue and win over any thing. From this time therefore bidding Farewel to all other sorts of Learning and Puerile Disciplines, he now began to exercise himself, and to take pains in Declaiming, as One who meant one day to be an Orator. He made use of *Isæus* as his Guide to the Art of speaking, though *Isocrates* at that time kept a School: Whether (as Some say) being an Orphan, (2) he was not able to pay *Isocrates* his ordinary Salary

(1) *Oropus* was a Town on the *Euripus*, between *Attica* and *Tenagra*. *Chabrias* having prevailed upon the *Athenians* to march to the Succour of the *Thebans*, who were hard pressed, went, and relieved them. The *Thebans*, in Return for this seasonable Piece of Service, took from them the Town of *Oropus*, which stood on their Frontier, and *Chabrias* Himself be-

ing accused as an Accomplice in the Fact, *Callistratus* was the Orator appointed to plead against him. This was a Cause of great Moment, and excited every one's Curiosity. *Demosthenes* makes mention of it in his Oration against *Midias*. He was in his Sixteenth Year at the time of this Tryal.

(2) The Rhetoricians had a stated Price, which they demanded

of

lary of ten *Mine*, (1) or because he preferred *Isæus* his way of speaking, as being more effectual, and fit for Use and Business. But *Hermippus* saith, That he met with certain Memoirs without any Author's Name, (2) in which it was written that *Demosthenes* was a Scholar to *Plato*, and by Him was much furthered in the Study of Eloquence: And he also mentions *Ctesibius*, as reporting from *Callias* of *Syracuse*, and some Others,

of their Pupils, as appears from *Plato*. But the Reason given here by *Plutarch*, who saith *Demosthenes* could not be received into the School of *Isocrates*, is not a good one, if what he saith in the Life of *Isæus* be true, viz. That *Isæus* quitted his School to go and be a Tutor to *Demosthenes* at the Price of five Thousand Drachmas, which was ten times more than what was demanded by *Isocrates*.

(1) This is the true Reason. *Isocrates* his Manner was too soft and florid, That of *Isæus* strong and vigorous. He was the First who shaped his Style to Business, and the Management of Affairs, and *Demosthenes* thought That the most proper and conducive to His Ends. *Isæus* formed His Style upon That of *Lysias*.

(2) This is confirmed by *Cicero* in his *Brutus*. It is said that *Demosthenes* was not only a great Reader of *Plato*, but that he had been his Disciple also. This is very likely, if we consider the Fullness and Majesty of his Style. *Leetitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur, idque apparet ex genere, & Granditate verborum.* He saith likewise in his Orator. *Quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cujus ex Epistolis intel-*

ligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis Auditor. The same Thing may be conjectured of Demosthenes, from whose Epistles it appears how close and assiduous a Hearer he was of Plato. Cicero has in this Place a particular View to that Letter of Demosthenes to Heracleodorus. But considering that You are a Person of the greatest Credit and Authority, as well as of the greatest Erudition, and that You have more especially espoused the Doctrine of Plato, which is so widely distant from Avarice, from Violence, and those many Tricks and Subterfuges which are made use of on such Occasions; a Doctrine, whose sole Object is the highest Goodness, the greatest Justice: Ye Gods! when once a Man has imbibed that Doctrine how can he ever swerve from the Truth, or entertain any Sentiment but what is generous, and beneficent to Mankind? This is a handsome Commendation of Plato's Philosophy, and a clear Proof that Demosthenes had studied it. But there is still Another, which is that Demosthenes having followed Isæus, and Isæus being exactly such a one as Lysias, who was much inferior to Plato, it is more than probable that he sought in this Last for what was wanting in the other Two.

that *Demosthenes* secretly got, and thoroughly learned the Arts of *Isocrates* and *Alcidamus*.

(1) As soon as he was of Age he went to Law with his Guardians, and to write Orations against them, who in the mean time found out many Subterfuges and Tricks to prolong the Suits. But *Demosthenes* (as *Thucydides* has it) being thus exercised by Declaiming, and succeeding in it, tho' not without some Toil and Hazard, could not for all This recover any considerable Part of his Father's Estate; however attaining hereby to a Confidence in Speaking, and some competent Experience in it, and having got a Taste of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings, he now ventured to come forth, and to undertake Publick Business. And as it is said of *Laomedon* the *Orchomenian*, that by Advice of his Physician, he used to run long Stages for the curing of some Indisposition of his Spleen, and by that means, having through Labour and Exercise framed the Habit of his Body, betook himself to the *Garland-Games*, and became one of the Principal Runners at the long Race: So it happened to *Demosthenes*, who first applying himself to Oratory for Recovery of his own private Estate, and so getting an Ability of Speaking; at length, in publick Business, as it were in those Games, he began to have the Pre-eminence of all those Citizens who contended for Mastery in Pleadings at the Bar. But when he first addressed himself to the Popular Assembly, he met with great Discouragements, and was derided for his odd and uncouth way of speaking; for his Periods were confused, and his Arguments forced, which made all seem very harsh and tedious. Besides, he had a

(1) His Father died when He | plead at the Age of Seventeen; but was seven Years of Age, and he | This was only on his own private was ten Years in the Hands of | Account, which the Laws had not Guardians; he began therefore to | forbidden.

Weakness

W
U
bre
scu
So
fool
care
mus
upb
Spe
ness
Hin
agai
dy
lang
And
bly,
taki
the
Acq
who
havi
and
of h
any
Sots
posse
true
ly re
me
Wh
pres
dere

(1)
mocr
right
blest C
conver
V

Weakness in his Voice, a perplexed and indistinct Utterance, and a shortness of Breath, which by breaking and disjoynting his Sentences, much obscur'd the Sense and Meaning of what he spoke: So that in the End, being quite disheartned, he forsook the Assembly; and as he was one day walking carelessly, and sauntering about the *Piræus*, *Eunomus* the *Thiasian* (then a very old Man) seeing him, upbraided him, as one who having a way of Speaking much like That of *Pericles*, through Softness of Mind and Cowardliness, was wanting to Himself; neither bearing up with Courage against popular Tumults, nor fitting his Body for Action, but suffering it to flag and languish through meer Sloth and Negligence. Another time, when he was exploded the Assembly, and went home with his Head muffled up, taking it very heavily, they report, that *Satyrus* the Actor followed him, and being his familiar Acquaintance, fell into Discourse with him: To whom when *Demosthenes* bemoaned himself, *that having been the most industrious of all the Pleaders, and having almost spent the whole Strength and Vigour of his Body in that Employment, he could not yet find any Acceptance with the People: (1) that drunken Sots, Mariners, and illiterate Fellows were heard, and possessed the Pulpit, while He was despised. You say true (Demosthenes) replied Satyrus, but I will quickly remedy the Cause of all This, if you will repeat to me some Sentence out of Euripides or Sophocles: Which when Demosthenes had pronounced, Satyrus presently taking it up after him, so humoured and rendered the very same Sentence with such a becoming*

(1) For at *Athens*, as in all Democracies, the Mechanicks had a right to be heard as well as the ablest Orators. And This was very convenient. For when the Matter turned upon Sea Affairs, or the Building of Ships, who were more proper to be heard than Mariners, Carpenters, &c.

Mien and Gesture, that to *Demosthenes* it seemed quite another thing. Being by This convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from due Action, he began to esteem it a small Matter, and as good as nothing for a Man to exercise himself in Declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation, and the Decency of Speaking. Hereupon he built himself a Place to study in under Ground, which is still remaining; and hither he would come constantly every Day to form his Action, and to exercise his Voice, and he would continue oftentimes without Intermission two or three Months together, shaving one half of his Head, that so for Shame he might not go abroad, tho' he desired it never so much. Nor was This all; but he also made his Conversation with People abroad, his Discourse, and his Business subservient to his Studies, taking from hence Occasions and Arguments as Matter to work upon. For as soon as he was parted from his Company, down he would go presently into his Study, and run over every thing in order as it had passed, and the Reason that might be alledged for and against it. Besides, such Speeches as he was present at he would recollect with Himself, and reduce into Periods; and whatever Others spoke to Him, or He to Them, he would correct, translate, and vary several ways. Hence it was that he was looked upon as a Person of no great Natural Wit; but as One who owed all the Power and Ability he had in Speaking, to Labour and Industry: Of the truth of which, This was no small sign; that a man should not lightly hear *Demosthenes* ever speak upon the Occasion, but though he were by Name frequently called upon by the People as he sat in the publick Assembly, yet he would not rise up to plead unless he had well considered the Business, and came prepared for it; so that many of the

the
Py
me
up
La
Bu
Th
ing
ye
he
th
suc
Pe
wh
lay
on
Bu
ext
Th
De
dif
to
So
Pe
nel
Py

(
at
Bae
Ela
mar
ans
of
ing
after
his
ty
was
grea
Mar
veh

the Popular Pleadings used to flout at him; and Pytheas, once scoffing him, said, *That his Arguments smelt of the Lamp.* But Demosthenes replied upon him sharply, *It is true indeed, Pytheas, your Lamp and mine are not conscious of the same things.* But to some Others he would not much deny This, but would freely confess, that in his Pleadings he did neither commit all to Writing, nor yet wholly speak without Notes. And moreover he would affirm, that He ought to be accounted the most Popular Speaker who used Premeditation, such Preparation being a kind of respect to the People; whereas to slight, and take no care how what is said is like to be resented by the Multitude, favours more of an Oligarchick Humour, and of one who intends Force rather than Persuasion. But of his want of Courage and Assurance to speak extempore, they make This also another Argument; That when he was at a loss, and discomposed, Demades would often rise up on the sudden, and readily assist him; but Demosthenes was never observed to do the Same for Demades. Whence then (may Some say) was it, that Æschines speaks of him as a Person so much to be wondered at for his Boldness in speaking? (1) Or how could it be, when Python the Byzantine with so much Confidence and

(1) This Passage did not happen at Athens, but in the Council of the Boeotians. After the Conquest of Elatea, when Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians sent to demand the Assistance of the Boeotians. The Alliance being entered into, and the Troops assembled at Cheronea, Philip sent his Ambassadors to the Community of Boeotia, at the Head of which was Python, who passed for the greatest Orator of his time. This Man in a very elegant Discourse vehemently inveighed against the Athenians. Demosthenes answered him extempore, and got the better of him, and was so proud of his Victory, that he speaks of it, and values himself upon it in one of his Orations. The Words Plutarch alludes to in this Place are these that follow. Τότε ἐγὼ μὲ τῷ Πύθωνι δεξασυμένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ῥέοντι καὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντι ὑπερχοῦντα. When Python attacked us in an Inundation of Words, and thought to drown us with his Torrent of Eloquence, I stood up, and answered him.

such a Torrent of Words, inveighed against the *Athenians*, that *Demosthenes* Alone stood up to oppose him? Or when *Lammachus* the *Myrrinean* had writ a Panegyrick upon King *Philip* and *Alexander*, in which he uttered many things reproachfully of the *Thebans* and *Olythians*, and at the *Olympian Games* recited it publickly; how was it, that He presently rising up, and rehearsing historically and demonstratively what Benefits and Advantages all *Greece* had received from the *Thebans* and *Chalcidians*; and on the contrary, what Mischiefs the Flatterers of the *Macedonians* had brought upon it; so turned the Minds of all that were present, that the Sophister fearing the Tumult, privily withdrew himself out of the Assembly? But it may be no difficult Matter to reconcile those seeming Contradictions. For my part I think that *Demosthenes*, who had taken *Pericles* for his Model, did not tie himself up to follow him so implicitly in the many other Instances, as in his Pronunciation and Gesture, but more especially in his Rule of not speaking on a sudden, and upon all sorts of Subjects, being persuaded that to That Rule he owed all his Greatness. And yet he was not wholly averse to the Glory that ariseth on those *extempore* Occasions, but did not care to expose his Faculty too frequently to the Mercy of Chance. Indeed the Orations which were spoken by him, had much more of Boldness and Confidence in them, than Those he only left in writing; if we may believe *Eratosthenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, and the Comedians: Amongst whom *Eratosthenes* saith, that in his Pleadings he would be oftentimes transported with a kind of Rage and Fury: And *Phalereus*, that he would frequently repeat to the People that Oath in the Verse,
By Earth, by Springs, by Rivers, and by Streams,
 as a Man inspired, and besides himself. One of the Comedians calls him *Ropoperperethras*, a Dealer in small

small Wares: Another scoffs at him for using that *Antithesis*, *As he took, so he retook*; for *Demosthenes* much affected this Expression. Unless perhaps *Antiphanes* might speak this jestingly, with allusion to his Oration concerning the Island of *Halonefus*, which *Demosthenes* persuaded the *Athenians* (1) not to take, but retake from King *Philip*. But all acknowledged *Demades*, upon the mere use of his Natural Wit, a Person not to be out-done; and that in what he spoke on the sudden, he excelled all the Studies and Preparations of *Demosthenes*. And *Aristo* the *Chian* has related a certain Censure which *Theophrastus* passed upon the Orators; for being asked what kind of Orator he accounted *Demosthenes*? He answered, *Worthy of the City of Athens*. And then, What he thought of *Demades*? He answered, *Above it*. And the same Philosopher reports, that *Polyæctus Sphættius*, one of the Magistracy about that time, was wont to say, That *Demosthenes* was the greatest Orator, but *Phocion* the ablest Pleader; being one who expressed the most Sense in the fewest Words. And indeed it is reported, that *Demosthenes* Himself, as often as *Phocion* went up into the Pulpit to plead against him, would say to his Acquaintance, *Now stands up the Pruner of my Words*. Yet it does not appear whether it was from the Eloquence of this Man, or from his Life and Reputation, that *Demosthenes* had such an Opinion of him, as thinking one Word or Nod from a Man in so high Credit, to be of more Authority and Force, than the many and long Speeches of Others.

Demetrius the *Phalerean* tells us, upon the Credit of *Demosthenes* Himself, from whom, when he was grown very old, he had it, that the ways he made use of

(1) That is, not to take, or receive it as a Donation, or Concession from *Philip*; but to retake it, as a Possession of Right belonging to them.

to help the natural Infirmities and Defects of his Body, were such as These: His inarticulate and stammering Pronunciation he overcame and rendered more distinct by speaking Orations with Pebbles in his Mouth: His Voice he exercised by discoursing and pronouncing Speeches or Verses when he was out of Breath with running or going up steep Places. And in his House he had a large Looking-Glass, before which he would stand and repeat his Declamations. It is reported, that a certain Man coming to crave his Advice and Assistance, and relating at large what Blows he had received from his Adversary; *Sure, said Demosthenes, thou hast suffered nothing of all This thou talkest of:* Upon which the Man straining his Voice, and crying out aloud, *How Demosthenes! have I suffered nothing?* Ay marry, replied he, *now I hear the Voice of One who has been injured and beaten.* Of so great Consequence towards the gaining of Belief, did he esteem the Tone and Action of the Speaker. The Action which he used Himself was wonderfully pleasing to the Common People; but by Those of the better sort (of whom *Demetrius Phalereus* was one) it was looked upon as low, mean, and unmanly. Yet *Hermippus* says of *Æsion*, that being asked his Opinion concerning the ancient Orators and Those of his own time, he answered *that one would have wondered to hear those Ancients, with what Decorum and Grandeur they addressed themselves to the People, but the Orations of Demosthenes appear most admirable upon reading, both for their Artificial Composure and Strength of Argument.* The Speeches indeed which were penned by him, a Man may well say, were written with much Severity, and with some kind of Bitterness; but in his Repartees on the sudden, he was usually facetious and pleasant. To *Demades*, saying, *Demosthenes teach me? So may the Sow teach Minerva:* He

He replied, *That Minerva of yours was lately taken playing the whore in Colyttus.* To a Thief whose Name was *Galchus*, attempting to upbraid him for sitting up late, and writing by Candle-light; *I know very well*, said he, *that my Candle troubles you; but wonder not* (O ye Men of Athens) *at the many Robberies which are so frequently committed, since we have Thieves of Brass, and Walls of Clay.* But of these Matters, though much more might be added upon the same Subject, we will say no more: it being just and reasonable, that we now proceed to take an Estimate of his Nature and Manners, from his Action and Management of Affairs in the Commonwealth.

His first entring into publick Business (1) was much about the time of the *Phocian War*, as himself affirms, and may be collected from his *Philippick Orations*: For these were made soon after that Action was over, and the first of his Speeches relate to Affairs which hapned very near the same time: The Accusation he had prepared against *Midias*, it is manifest was writ by him when he was but two and thirty Years old, having as yet no Interest or Reputation in the Commonwealth: And it seems to me, that upon this Consideration only, being afraid to proceed, he let fall his Action, and was reconciled for a Sum of Mony. For

— no Prayer, no moving Art
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable Heart. Pope.

as Homer saith of *Achilles*; and like Him was *Demosthenes*, of a Disposition implacable and revenge-

(1) This War began the eleventh Year of the Hundred and thirty three Years before the Incarnation. He being then in the twenty seventh Year of his Age.

ful: However, finding it an hard Matter and above his Strength to deal with *Midias*, a Man so well secured on all sides with Money, Eloquence, and Friends, he yielded to the Intreaties of Those who interceded for him. But had he seen any hopes or possibility of prevailing, I cannot believe that three thousand Drachmas could have taken off the Edge of his Revenge. The Cause he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and just; the Defence of the *Græcians* against *Philip*; in which he behaved himself so worthily, that he soon grew Famous, and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Courage in speaking. He was adored through all *Greece*, the Great King of *Persia* courted him, and by *Philip* Himself he was more esteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confess, (1) that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour; for such a Character even *Æschines* and *Hyperides* have given him; where they accuse and speak against him. So that I cannot imagine what Ground *Theopompus* had to say, that *Demosthenes* was of a wavering unsettled Humour, which could not long continue firm either to the same Men, or the same Affairs; whereas the contrary is most apparent; for the same Party and Way of Government which he held with at the beginning, to Those he kept constant to the end; and was so

(1) This perfectly agrees with the Character given of him by *Longinus*, who saith that *Demosthenes* had united in him all the Talents of an Orator truly born to the Sublime, that he had a Force and Vehemence so great as to be approached by no one, and that by his divine Qualities, (for they were more than humane) he had eclipsed all that could be found excellent in the most celebrated Orators that had preceded him, rendering them as it were stunned, and dumfounded with the Force of his Lightning, and his Thunder. He adds, that it is more easy with open Eyes to stare upon the Bolt as it shoots from Heaven, than not to be agitated by the violent Passions which abound in his Writings.

far

far from leaving them while he lived, that he chose rather to forsake his Life than his Party. He was not heard to Apologize for his shifting of Sides like *Demades*, who would say, *he often spoke against Himself, but never against the City*. Nor as *Melanopus*, who being generally against *Callistratus*, but often bribed off with Money, was wont to tell the People, *The Man indeed is my Enemy, but we must submit for the good of our Country*. Neither as *Nicodemus* the *Messenian*, who having first appeared on *Cassander's* side, and afterwards taking part with *Demetrius*, said, *That he was not in the least inconsistent with himself, since it was always the safest way to submit to the most Powerful*. But we have nothing of this kind to say against *Demosthenes*, as one who would turn aside or prevaricate, either in Word or Deed: For he still kept one constant Tenor in his Actions, as if they had been all governed by one unalterable Scheme of Policy. And *Panetius* the Philosopher said, that most of his Orations are so written, as if they were to prove that one Conclusion, that what is honest and virtuous is for it self only to be chosen; as *That of the Crown*, *That against Aristocrates*, *That for the Immunities*, and the *Philippicks*; in All which he persuades his Citizens to pursue not That which seems most pleasant, easie, or profitable; but declares that in many Cases, they ought in the first place to prefer That which is Just and Honourable, before their own Safety and Preservation. So that if he had kept his Hands clean from Bribery, if his Courage for the Wars had been answerable to the Generosity of his Principles, and the Excellency of his Orations, he might deservedly have his Name placed in the highest Rank with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*, and not in the number of such Orators as *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus* and *Hyperides*. Therefore amongst Those who succeeded him, *Phocion*,

cian, though he appeared on that side in the Commonwealth which was not so well esteemed of, and seemed to favour the *Macedonians*; yet for his Valour and Justice he was thought a Person no way inferior to *Ephialtus*, *Aristides* and *Cimon*: But *Demosthenes* being neither fit to be at all relied on for his Courage in Arms, (as *Demetrius* says) nor on every side well fortified against Bribery, (for how invincible soever he was against the Gifts of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, yet lying open to the Assaults, and being overpowered by the Gold which came down from *Susa* and *Ecbatana*) it appeared that he was much better able to recommend than to imitate the Virtues of our Ancestors. And yet (excepting only *Phocion*) even in his Life and Manners he far surpassed the other Orators of his Time. None of them discoursed to the People with so great Freedom and Boldness: He would not spare their Faults, but opposed himself against the unreasonable Desires of the Multitude (as may be gathered from his Orations.) And *Theopompus* writes, that the *Athenians* having by Name appointed *Demosthenes*, and calling upon him to accuse a certain Person, he refused to do it: Upon which the Assembly being all in an Uproar, he rose up and said, *Your Counsellor, whether you will or no, (O ye Men of Athens) you shall always have me; but a Sycophant or false Accuser, though you would have me, I shall never be.* His Carriage in the Case of *Antipho* was plainly Aristocratical; (1) whom, after he had been acquitted in the Assembly, he took and brought before the Court of *Areopagus*,

(1) *Demosthenes* relates this Transaction at full length in his *Oration de Coronâ*. But give me leave to refresh your Memories, by laying before you what *Eschines* has done for the sake of the Enemy, in the

Sight of the whole World. Who is there among you that doth not know that *Antiphon* had undertaken to *Philip* to set fire to your Arsenal? that he stole into the City, out of which he had been driven by a public

lick

pa
Pe
bu
ne
Th
no
to
ter
Th
by
ton
for
gai
Hi
for
lod
he
sam
Of
Pec
gai
Or
the
lish
and
and
the
bria

lick D
That
lurkin
and d
That
I was
pular
Unfor
to oth
his ba
Decree
Senate
tion of

pagus, and, setting at nought the Displeasure of the People, convicted him of having promised *Philip* to burn the *Arsenal*; whereupon the Man was condemned by that Court, and suffered for it. He accused also *Theoris* the *Priestess*, amongst many other Misdemeanors, for having instructed and taught the Slaves how to deceive and cheat their Masters, for which the Sentence of Death passed upon her, and she was executed. The Oration which *Apollodorus* made use of, and by it carried the Cause against *Timotheus* the Praetor, in an Action of Debt, was said to be written for him by *Demosthenes*; as also Those Others against *Phormio* and *Stephanus*: But this Practice of His was thought dishonourable, and justly enough; for the Speech which *Phormio* spake against *Apollodorus* was also of His making; by which means he did as it were furnish two Adversaries out of the same Shop with Weapons to wound one another. Of his Orations which were made in publick to the People, That against *Androtion*, and the Other against *Timocretes* and *Aristocratus*, were written for Others, before he dealt Himself in the Affairs of the Commonwealth; for These it seems were published by him, when he was yet but Seven or Eight and Twenty Years old. That against *Aristogeiton*, and That for the Immunities, he spake Himself, at the request (as he says) of *Ctesippus* the Son of *Chabrias*, but as Some say, out of Courtship to the

lick Decree, with that very Design? That I my self having found him lurking in the *Pisæus* seized him, and dragged him to the Assembly? That he exclaimed against me, as if I was acting too tyrannically in a popular State, that I insulted over the Unfortunate, and by Force broke into other People's Houses, and so by his bawling got clear without any Decree in his Favour? That if the Senate of *Areopagus* upon Information of what had been doing, and the

Oversight you had committed in so critical a Conjunction, had not caused a Search to be made after that Traitor, and brought him back before you, he had escaped out of the Hands of Justice by the Aid and Assistance of this grave Orator. Instead of which you first put him to the Question, then condemned him, and at last caused him to be executed, as he very justly deserved.

young

young Man's Mother; though he never married her: For his Wife was a Woman of *Samos*, as *Demetrius the Magnesian* writes in his Book, *de Synonymis*. It is not certain whether (1) his Oration against the false Embassy of *Eschines* was ever spoken; although *Idomeneus* says, that *Eschines* wanted only thirty Voices to acquit him; but this seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their Orations writ concerning the Crown: For neither of them hath mentioned any thing clearly or directly of it, as a Cause that ever came to Tryal. But let Others decide this Controversy.

Now it was evident even in the times of Peace, what Course *Demosthenes* would steer in the Commonwealth: For whatever was done by the *Macedonian* he could not forbear finding fault with it; but upon all Occasions was stirring up the People of *Athens*, and inflaming them against him: Therefore in the Court of *Philip*, no Man was so much talked of, or of so great Account as He: And when he came thither, one of the ten Embassadors, who were sent into *Macedonia*, though All had Audience given them, yet his Speech was answered with most Care and Exactness: but in other Re-

(1) This Oration was called *περὶ ψευδοπροσβείας*, *de falsa Legatione*, as *Cicero* has translated the Title; wherein *Demosthenes* accuseth *Eschines* of many capital Crimes committed by him in that Embassy, on which he was sent to oblige *Philip* to swear to the Articles of Peace. The first was for siding with *Philocrates*, who insisted, that the People of *Phocis* were not included in the Treaty; the second, for not requiring the Oath from *Philip's* Confederates, the *Thessalians*; the third, for loitering on purpose on the Road, that *Philip* might have time to perform his Expedition against *Phocis*; the fourth, for having sed up the *Athenians* with the false hopes, that the *Thebans* would be destroyed, and the *Phocians* preserved. Both this Oration, and That of *Eschines* in answer to it, are still remaining. But for as much as it was uncertain in *Plutarch's* time, whether they were ever spoken, We must not presume to determine upon the Question. It is sufficient to know that if That Cause ever did come to a Hearing, it could not be before the second Year of the hundred and ninth Olympiad, when *Demosthenes* was thirty nine Years old.

spects

spect^s *Philip* entertained him not so honourably as the rest, neither did he shew him the same Kindness and Civility with which he applied himself to *Eschines* and *Philocrates*: So that when the others commended *Philip* as an able Speaker, a beautiful Person, and a good Companion that could drink stoutly, *Demosthenes* could not forbear turning those Encomiums into Burlesque. The First, he said, was the Quality of a Rhetorician, the Second of a Woman, and the last was the Property of a Sponge rather than a Prince. When Things looked towards a War, (*Philip* on the one side being not able to live in Peace, and the *Athenians* on the Other being stirred up by *Demosthenes*) the first Action he put them upon, was the reducing of *Eubœa*, which by the Treachery of the Governors was brought under Subjection to *Philip*. To this Purpose, He having procured a Decree, they crossed over thither and chased the *Macedonians* out of the Island. The next was the Relief of the *Byzantines* and *Perinthians*, with whom the *Macedonians* at that time made War. He persuaded the People to lay aside their Enmity against those Nations, to forget the Offences committed by them in the Wars with their Confederates, and to send them such Succours as saved and secured them. Not long after he undertook an Embassy to the *Græcians*, whom he solicited and so far incensed against *Philip*, that (a few only excepted) he wrought them All into a general Insurrection: So that besides the Forces to be raised by the Cities, who were to bear their own Expences, there was an Army consisting of fifteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, and the Money to pay these Strangers was levied and brought in with great Chearfulness; but when the Allies desired that their Contributions for the War might be ascertain'd and stated, *Crobylus* the Orator

(as

(as *Theophrastus* says) told them plainly, (1) *That War could not be kept to any set Diet.* Now was all Greece up in Arms, and in great Expectation what would be the Event of these Things. The *Eubœans*, the *Achaians*, the *Corinthians*, the *Megarians*, the *Leucadians*, and *Corycœans*, their People, and their Cities were all joined together in a League: But the hardest Task was yet behind left for *Demosthenes*, to draw the *Thebans* into this Confederacy with the rest. Their Country bordered next upon *Attica*, they had great Forces for the War, and at that time they were accounted the best Soldiers of all Greece; but it was no easie matter to make Them break with *Philip*, who by many good Offices had so lately obliged them in the *Phocian War*; especially considering the Quarrels and Disputes between these two Cities, occasion'd from the nearness of their Frontiers, and by frequent light Skirmishes on both sides daily renewed and exasperated. But after *Philip*, being now grown high and puffed up with his good Success at *Amphissa*, had on a sudden surprized *Elatea*, and possessed himself of *Phocis*, the *Athenians* were under a great Consternation, none durst venture up into the Pulpit, or knew what to say, All were at a Loss, and the whole Assembly in a deep Silence and great Perplexity. In this Extremity of Affairs, *Demosthenes* was the only Man who appeared, advising to apply themselves to the *Thebans*; and having otherways encouraged the People, and (as his Manner was) raised their Spirits up with Hopes, He, with some others, was sent Ambassador to *Thebes*. To oppose Him (as *Marsias* says) *Philip* also sent thither His Embassadors, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus* two

(1) War is a Tyrant, and not to be fed as one feeds a Slave. *Crobylus* alludes to the Subsistence allowed to Slaves, which was fixed For as *Wolffius* has well observed, and certain.

Macedonians, besides *Doachus*, *Theſſalus*, and *Thraſydeus*. Now upon Conſultation the *Thebans* were well enough aware what ſuited beſt with their own Intereſt; but every one had before his Eyes the dreadful Calamities of War, and the Wounds they had lately received at *Phocis* were ſtill remaining green and freſh upon them. But ſuch was the Force and Power of our Orator, (as *Theopompus* tells us) that enkindling their Minds, and inflaming them with a Deſire of Glory, he took away their Sight, and caſt a Miſt before all other Conſiderations; ſo that extinguishing in their Minds all Sentiments of Fear, Prudence and Gratitude, they were raviſhed and transported by his Eloquence, as by a Piece of Enthuſiaſm, and were inflamed with no other Deſires but what were great and honourable. This ſo famous an Enterprize, accompliſhed by an Orator, was thought to be of ſuch great Conſequence, that *Philip* immediately ſent Heralds to treat and deſire a Peace. All *Greece* was unanimouſly up in Arms. The Commanders in chief not only of *Attica*, but of *Bootia*, applied themſelves to *Demosthenes*, and obſerved his Directions: He managed all the Aſſemblies, as well Thoſe of the *Thebans*, as of the *Athenians*: He was beloved both by the One and by the Other, and had the ſame Authority with Both. Neither was all this Reſpect ſhewed him without good Cauſe; for (as *Theopompus* had declared) it was no more than was decent and due to his Merit. But there was, it ſhould ſeem, ſome fatal Deſtiny in the Revolution of theſe Affairs, which, having determined to put a Period at this time to the Liberty of *Greece*, oppoſed and thwarted all their Actions; and by many Signs foretold what ſhould happen. Such were the dreadful Predictions uttered by the *Pythian* Prieſteſs, and this old Oracle cited out of the *Sibyſls*;

The

*The Battel fought at Thermodon, let me
An Eagle in the Air at Distance see:
Where They who overcome shall mourn; and He
Who conquers scarce survive his Victory.*

This *Thermodon*, they say, is a little River in our Country near *Cheronea*, which emptieth it self into *Gephifus*: But we know none of that Name at this time, only we conjecture that That which is now call'd *Hamon*, and runs by the Temple of *Hercules*, where the *Gracians* were encamped, might perhaps in those Days be called *Thermodon*, and after the Fight, being filled with Blood and dead Bodies, upon this Occasion (as we guess) might change its old Name for that which it now bears. Yet *Duris* says, that this *Thermodon* was no River, but that some of the Soldiers, as they were pitching their Tents, and digging Trenches about them, found a small Marble Statue, which, by the Inscription, appear'd to be the Figure of *Thermodon*, carrying a wounded *Amazon* in his Arms. Concerning this Battel there was also another Oracle alledged.

*Stay, Ravens, and expect the Fight at Thermodon,
There will be Carcasses good Store to feed upon.*

In fine, it is not easie to determine what there is of Truth in these Reports. But of *Demosthenes* it is said, that he had so great Confidence in the *Gracian* Forces, and seeing the Courage and Resolution of so many brave Men ready to engage the Enemy, grew so high and lofty, that he would by no means endure they should give any Heed to Oracles, or hearken to Prophecies, but gave out that he suspected even the Prophetess her self, (1) as if

(1) *Demosthenes* was a Person of too much Knowledge and Experience, not to know that all those Oracles were the Suggestions of Passion or Interest.

she had been tamper'd with to speak in Favour of *Philip*. The *Thebans* he put in mind of *Epaminondas*, the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, who always took their own Measures and govern'd their Actions by Reason, looking upon such Fopperies as a Pretence only for Cowardise. Thus far therefore *Demosthenes* acquitted himself like a Man of Honour. But in the Fight, when it came to Blows, he did nothing honourable, nor were his Performances any way answerable to his Speeches. For deserting his Post, and throwing down his Arms, he run away most shamefully, and disgraced, as *Pytheas* has well observed, the fine Device he had caused to be engraven in Letters of Gold upon his Shield, *To good Fortune*.

In the mean time *Philip*, soon after the Victory, was so transported with Joy, that having drank to Excess, he grew extravagant, and insulted over the Dead, so that stamping, and dancing, and raising his Voice to the Measures of his Feet, he sung the first Words of *Demosthenes's* Decree. *Demosthenes the Pæanean, Son of Demosthenes, has decreed.*

(1) But when he came to Himself, and had well considered the dangerous Circumstances he was lately under, he was struck with Horror, reflecting upon the Strength and mighty Power of such an Orator, who had enforced him, within the Compass of a few Hours, to run the Hazard both of his Life and Empire. His Fame also reached even to the Court of *Persia*, and the King sent Letters to his Lieutenants, commanding them to feed *Demosthenes* with Money, and to make their chief Application to Him, as the only Man of all the *Græcians*, who was best able to give *Philip* a Diversion, and to imploy his Forces nearer

(1) He was moreover touched with a Saying of *Demades* the Orator, who was among the Prisoners, and told him with a Liberty truly heroick, Sir, Fortune has given You the Part of *Agamemnon*, and You have been acting That of *Thersites*.

Home in the Troubles of Greece. This afterwards came to the Knowledge of *Alexander*, by certain Letters of *Demosthenes*, which he found at *Sardis*, and by other Papers of the *Persian* Officers, expressing the vast Sums which had been given him.

At this time, upon the ill Success which now happened to the *Græcians*, Those of the contrary Faction in the Commonwealth fell foul upon *Demosthenes*, and took this Opportunity to frame several Informations and Indictments against him. But the People not only acquitted him of these Accusations, but continued towards him their former Respects, and as a Man that meant well, they restored him to the Management of their publick Affairs. Insomuch, that when the Bones of Those who had been slain at *Chæronea* were brought home to be solemnly interred, *Demosthenes* was the Man they pitched on to make the Funeral Oration. By which they made it appear, as we are told by *Theopompus* (who magnifies them for their Behaviour on that Occasion) that they not only bore their Loss without any Meanness or Dejection of Spirit; but that by the Honour and Respect shewn to their Counsellor, it was plain they were no way dissatisfied with the Counsels he had given them. The Speech therefore was spoken by *Demosthenes*: But in the Decrees which were passed afterwards, he would not suffer them to bear his Name in the Title, but made Use of his Friends one after another; for he looked upon his own Genius as unfortunate and inauspicious; till at length he took Courage again after the Death of *Philip*, who did not long out-live his Victory at *Chæronea*. And this it seems was that which was foretold in the last Verses of the Oracle.

*Where They who overcome shall mourn, and He
Who conquers scarce survive his Victory.*

DEMOSTHENES.

371

Demosthenes had secret Intelligence of the Death of *Philip*; and laying hold of this Opportunity to prepossess the People with Courage, and better Hopes for the future, he came into the Assembly with a chearful Countenance, pretending to have seen a Vision, from whence the *Athenians* were to expect some great Matters; and not long after arrived the Messengers, who brought the News of *Philip's* Death: No sooner had the People received it, but immediately they offered Sacrifice to the Gods, and decreed a Crown to *Pausanias*, who had slain him.

At the same time *Demosthenes* appeared publicly in a rich Habit, with a Chaplet on his Head, tho' it were but the seventh Day after the Death of his Daughter, as it is said by *Eschines*, who upbraids him upon this Account, and rails at him as one void of natural Affection towards his Children; whereas indeed he has by this means rather betrayed Himself to be of a poor, low Spirit, and effeminate Mind, while he seems to make immoderate Grief and Lamentation the only signs of a gentle and compassionate Nature, and to condemn Those who bear such Accidents with more Temper and less Passion. For my own part, I cannot say that the Behaviour of the *Athenians* on this Occasion was any way decent or honourable, to crown themselves with Garlands, to sacrifice to the Gods, and All for the Death of a Prince, who in the midst of his Success and Victories, when they were a conquered People, had used Them with so much Clemency and Humanity; for it was a practice both unworthy and base to make him free of their City, and to honour him while he lived; and yet as soon as he fell by Treason, to set no Bounds to their Joy, to insult over him when dead, and to sing triumphant Songs of Victory, as if by their own Valour they had vanquished him. I must needs

commend the Carriage of *Demosthenes*; who leaving vain Tears and Lamentations to the Women, made it his Business to do That which he thought most profitable for the Common-wealth. And I think it the Duty of Him, who would be accounted to have a Soul truly Valiant, and fit for Government, to stand always firm to the common Good, and neglecting his own private Calamities and Affairs, when they come into Competition with the Publick, to maintain the Dignity of his Character and Station; much more than good Actors, who represent the Persons of Kings and Tyrants: and yet These, we see, when they either laugh or weep on the Stage, do not follow their own Inclinations, but observe that *Decorum* in their Actions which the Subject requires. Moreover, if we ought not to leave the Unfortunate overwhelm'd with Sorrow, but to use some such Speeches as may alleviate their Afflictions, and divert their Minds with more pleasing Objects (as we use to advise Those who are troubled with sore Eyes, to withdraw their Sight from bright and offensive Colours, to Green, and those of softer Mixture;) from whence can a Man furnish himself with better Arguments of Consolation for the Afflictions of his Family, than by endeavouring to attemper and allay his own private Misfortunes with the good Success and Recovery of his Country out of publick Calamities; that so the better Fortune of the One may in some measure obscure and conceal the ill Circumstances of the Other.

I have been the larger in this Digression, because I observe in a Speech of *Eschines* upon this Subject, that he endeavours to move and soften the Minds of the People with Womanish Pity and Commiseration.

But now to return to my Narrative: The Cities of Greece, by the Instigation of *Demosthenes*, once more

more conspired together to make another Insurrection. The *Thebans*, whom he had provided with Arms, set upon their Garrison, and slew many of them; the *Athenians* made Preparations to join their Forces with them; *Demosthenes* bestirred himself in the Pulpit, and writ Letters to the *Persian* Officers, who commanded under the King in *Asia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*; (1) calling him a *Child*, a *second Margytes*: But, as soon as *Alexander* had settled Affairs in his own Country, and came Himself in Person with his Army into *Bæotia*, the Courage of the *Athenians* abated, and *Demosthenes* grew cold: So that the poor *Thebans* being thus deserted, and betrayed by them, were forced to give him Battel alone, and by this means lost their City. Hereupon the People of *Athens* were all in an Uproar, and in great Perplexity resolved to send Ambassadors to *Alexander*: Amongst Others they made choice of *Demosthenes* for One; but his Heart failing him for fear of the King's Anger, he returned back from *Cithæron*, and left the Embassy. In the mean time, *Alexander* sent to *Athens*, requiring ten of their Orators to be deliver'd up to him, as *Idomeneus* and *Thuris* have reported; but as the most and best Historians say, he demanded these eight only; *Demosthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Charidemus*. It was upon this Occasion, that *Demosthenes* related to them the Fable wherein the Sheep are said to deliver up their

(1) *Margytes* was a Person, who had the Knowledge of many things, but took them All by the wrong Handle. *Homer* wrote a Poem upon him, wherein he describes him as a Fellow good for nothing, because he wanted that Discretion which teaches a Man to make a right use of his Talents. *Demosthenes* could not possibly have made use of a better Comparison to expose *Alexander*. But could the King's Lieutenants in *Asia* be supposed to know what was meant by the Word *Margytes*? They did, without doubt; for *Homer* was as well known in *Asia*, as in *Greece*.

Dogs to the Wolves; comparing Himself and the other Orators to the Dogs who watch over and fight for the Sheep, and *Alexander* he compared to the Wolf. Besides which, he farther told them, That as we see Corn-Merchants sell their whole Stock by a few Grains of *Wheat*, which they carry into the Market in a Dish, as a small Sample of the rest; so You, by delivering up Us, who are but a few, do at the same time unawares surrender up your selves to the Enemy. These things we find thus related in the History of *Aristobulus the Cassandrian*. —

The *Athenians* were now deliberating, and at a loss what to do, when *Demades*, having agreed with the Persons whom *Alexander* had demanded, for five Talents, undertook to go Ambassador, and to intercede with the King for them; and whether it was that he relied on his Friendship and Kindness, or that he hoped to find him satiated, as a Lion glutted with Slaughter, he prevailed with him both to pardon the Men, and to be reconciled to their City. Upon the departure of *Alexander*, the Faction of *Demades* grew in great Power and Authority; but *Demosthenes* was quite under the Hatches. He began indeed to make some Figure again, when *Agis* the King of *Lacedæmon* appeared at the Head of a potent Army in *Attica*; but the *Athenians* refused to join with the *Spartans*, and *Agis* being soon after killed in a Battel with *Antigonus*, wherein the *Spartans* were overthrown, *Demosthenes's* Interest sunk again to nothing.

(1) At this time it was that the Indictment against *Ctesiphon*, concerning the Crown, was brought

to

(1) *Demosthenes* having at his own Charge rebuilt the Walls of *Athens*, the People, in Testimony of their Gratitude, honoured him with a Crown of Gold, in virtue of a Decree prepared by *Ctesiphon*. | *Eschines*, jealous of this Honour conferred on his Rival, arraigned the Decree, and the Cause was managed with the greatest Nicety and Judgment on both sides, but in the End *Demosthenes* carried it

by

to Tryal. The Action was commenced a little before the Battel in *Cheronea*, when *Charondas* was *Archon*, but it came not to Sentence 'till about ten Years after, *Aristophon* being then *Archon*. Never was any publick Cause more celebrated than This; both for the Fame of the Orators, and for the generous Courage of the Judges, who, tho' at that time the Accusers of *Demosthenes* were Men of the greatest Power, and supported by the Favour of the *Macedonians*, yet would not give Judgment against him, but acquitted him so honourably, that *Eschines* (1) had scarce the fifth part of their Suffrages on his Side. He, with good reason, was so ashamed of his Success, that he immediately left the City, and spent the rest of his Life in teaching Rhetorick in the Island of *Rhodes*, and upon the Continent in *Ionia*.

It was not long after This, (2) when *Harpalus* quitted the Service of *Alexander*, and fled out of *Asia* to *Athens*. He was conscious to himself of many lewd Practices occasioned by his Luxury, and feared the King, who was now grown terrible even to his best Friends. Yet this Man had no

by the pure dint of Eloquence. His Oration *de Corona* is still remaining among his Works, and is allowed by All to be a most perfect Masterpiece.

(1) This was a very ignominious Circumstance; if the Accuser had not one entire Moiety of the Votes, and a Fifth of the Other, he was fined a thousand Drachmas.

(2) *Alexander* had committed the Charge of his Revenue and Treasure in *Babylon* to *Harpalus*, who fancying to himself that That Prince would never return from his Expedition into *India*, fell into a very intemperate disorderly way of Life, living at a high

extravagant Rate, debauching some of the best Families in the Town, and plunging himself headlong into all sorts of Immodesty and Uncleannefs. After he had in this manner spent and consumed the greatest Part of the Wealth that had been entrusted to him he understood that *Alexander* was upon his Return, and that he severely punished as many of his Deputies and Lieutenants as had been unfaithful in their Offices. Wherefore to avoid being called to Account for his Behaviour, he made a Purse of five thousand Talents, raised a Body of six thousand Men, and retired to *Attica*.

sooner addressed himself to the People, and delivered up his Goods, his Ships, and Himself to their Disposal, but the other Orators of the Town had their Eyes quickly fixed upon his Money, and came in to his Assistance, persuading the *Athenians* to receive and protect their Suppliant. But *Demosthenes* at first gave advice to chase him out of the Country, and to beware lest they involved their City in a War upon so unnecessary and unjust an occasion. Yet some few Days after, as they were taking an Account of the Treasure, *Harpalus* perceiving how much he was pleased with the King's Cup, and how curiously he surveyed the Sculpture and Fashion of it, he desired him to poize it in his Hand, and consider the weight of the Gold. *Demosthenes* being amazed to feel how heavy it was, asked him what Price it would *come for*? To you, Sir, said *Harpalus* with a smiling Countenance, it shall *come with* twenty Talents. And presently after, when Night drew on, he sent him the Cup with so many Talents. This *Harpalus* it seems was a Person of good skill to discern a Man's Covetousness by the Air of his Countenance, and from the pleasant Cast of his Eyes to discover his Nature. For in short *Demosthenes* could not resist the Temptation, but receiving the Present (1) like a Garrison into his House, he was overcome, and wholly surrendered himself up to the Interest of *Harpalus*. The next Day he came into the Assembly with his Neck swath'd about with Wool and Rollers, and when they called on him to rise up and speak, he made Signs as if he had lost his Voice. But the Wits turning the Matter to Ridicule, said that certainly

(1) This is a fine Expression. *Epictetus*, before *Plutarch*, had told us that our Desires were a Garrison, that maintained themselves in our Hearts, and kept us in Sub-
jection. What He saith of our Desires *Plutarch* has justly applied to the Object of them, when once we have given it Entrance, and received it.

the Orator had not been seized that Night (1) *with a simple but silver Squinzy.* And soon after the People being sensible of the Bribery, grew angry, and would not suffer him to speak, or make an Apology for Himself, but run him down with Noise. Whereupon a certain Droll stood up, saying, *O ye Men of Athens, What, will you not hear the King's Cup-bearer?* So at length they banished *Harpalus* out of the City; and fearing lest they should be called to Account for the Treasure which the Orators had purloined, they made a strict enquiry, going from House to House; only they would not suffer the Officers to search the House of *Callicles* the Son of *Arrenidas*, who was newly married, out of respect, as *Theopompus* writes, to the Bride. But *Demosthenes* opposed the Inquisition, and preferred a Decree to refer the Business to the Court of *Areopagus*, and to punish Those whom they should find guilty. But He himself being one of the first whom the Court condemned, when he came to the Bar, was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Prison; where, out of Shame of the Crime for which he was condemned, and through the weakness of Body, growing soon impatient and weary of his Confinement, with the Privy of Some, and by the Connivance of Others of his Keepers, he made his Escape.

He had not fled far from the City, when finding that he was pursued by some of those Citizens who had been his Adversaries, he endeavour'd to hide himself. But when they called him by his Name, and coming up nearer to him, desired he would accept from them some Money, which they had brought from home, as a small Provision for

(1) The Wits at *Athens* forged the Word *Ἀργυράσχη*, by which they meant a *Silver Squinzy*, from the Word *αὐράσχη*, which signifies a *Squinzy*. But Our Language will not admit of such a Turn.

his

his Journey, and to that Purpose only had followed him; when they intreated him to take Courage, and without Passion to bear up against his Misfortune; he burst out into much greater Lamentation; saying, (1) *But how is it possible for me to support my self under so heavy an Affliction, since I am forced to leave a City where we meet with Enemies of more Compassion and Generosity, than is to be found in Friends elsewhere?* The Truth is, he bore his Banishment after an unmanly Fashion, settling for the most part in *Ægina* and *Træzene*, and with Tears in his Eyes looking towards the Country of *Attica*. Infomuch that there remain upon Record some Sayings of His, no way suitable to that Generosity and Bravery with which he used to express himself, when he had the Management of the Common-wealth. For as he was departing out of the City, it is reported, that he lifted up his Hands

(1) This Saying has been attributed to *Eschines*, and with such Circumstances as are still more to the Honour of *Demosthenes*. For is said that when *Eschines* was cast in the Cause about the Crown, where he had not a fifth Part of the Judges on his Side, and withdrew from *Athens* in order to retire to *Rhodes*, *Demosthenes* followed him on Horseback, and that *Eschines* at the Sight of him gave himself for lost; but that *Demosthenes*, as soon as he had overtaken him, accosted him like a generous Friend, and presented him with a Talent to enable him the better to support himself in his Retirement, and that thereupon *Eschines* returned him this handsome Answer or Acknowledgement, *How is it possible for me, &c.* I wish for the Honour of *Demosthenes* that this Account was

true; for it is much more glorious to be the Author of a fine Action, than of a fine Saying. But if That had been the Case, *Plutarch* would not have forgotten it. It is a Particularity founded upon no credible Authority. It is nowhere to be found but in *Photius's* Collection; and such Authors ought to be read with Caution, for want of Memory or something else makes them jumble things together, that have no Relation to one Another. It is true, that in the Lives of the ten Orators, *Plutarch* saith *Demosthenes* followed *Eschines*, comforted him, and made him a Present of a Talent, but he adds no farther. And forasmuch as he makes no mention of it in this Place, I am inclined to believe that He is not the Author of those Lives of the Orators,

towards

towards the *Acropolis*, and said, O *Lady Minerva*, how is it that thou takest Delight in three such fierce untractable Beasts, the Owl, the Dragon, and the People? The young Men who came to visit and converse with him, he deterred from meddling with State-Affairs, telling them, that if at first two Ways had been proposed to him, the one leading to the Pulpit and the Assembly, the other directly tending to Destruction, and he could have foreseen the many Evils which attend Those who deal in publick Business, such as Fears, Envy, Calumnies, and Contentions, he would certainly have taken That which led strait on to his Death.

But now whilst *Demosthenes* was in this kind of Banishment happened the Death of *Alexander*. And the *Græcians* were once again up in Arms, encouraged by the brave Attempts of *Leosthenes*, who was then drawing a Circumvallation about *Antipater*, whom he held close besieged in *Lamia*. *Pytheas* therefore the Orator, and *Callimædon* of *Carabia*, fled from *Athens*, and joyning themselves with *Antipater*, went about with his Friends and Ambassadors to keep the *Græcians* from revolting and taking Part with the *Athenians*. But on the other side, *Demosthenes* associating himself with the Ambassadors that came from *Athens*, used his utmost endeavours, and gave them his best Assistance, in persuading the Cities to fall unanimously upon the *Macedonians*, and to drive them out of *Greece*. *Philarchus* says, that in *Arcadia* there happened such a Rencounter between *Pytheas* and *Demosthenes*, as came at last to downright railing, while the One pleaded for the *Macedonians*, and the Other for the *Græcians*. *Pytheas* is reported to have said, that as we always suppose there is some Disease in the Family in which they bring Asses Milk; so where-ever there comes an Embassy from *Athens*, that City must needs be indisposed; and that *Demosthenes* retorted the

Compa-

Comparison upon him, by saying, *That as Asses Milk is never carried into a House but to restore it to Health, so the Athenians never send their Ambassadors to any City but on purpose to cure the Distempers, with which it is afflicted.* The People of *Athens* were so taken with the smartness of this Repartee, that they immediately passed a Decree for recalling him, which was drawn up by *Damon* the *Præanian*, Cousin-German to *Demosthenes*. They sent him a Ship to *Ægina*, and he landed at the Haven of *Piræus*, where he was met, and joyfully received by all the Citizens, not so much as an *Archon* or Priest staying behind. And *Demetrius* the *Magnesian* says, that he lifted up his Hands towards Heaven, and blessed this Day of his happy Return, as far more honourable than that of *Alcibiades*; since He was recalled by his Countrymen, not through any Force or Constraint put upon them, but by their own good Will and free Inclinations. There remained only his pecuniary Fine, which according to Law could not be remitted by the People. But they found out a Way to elude the Law. It was a Custom with them to allow a certain Quantity of Silver to Those who were to furnish and adorn the Altar for the Sacrifice of *Jupiter Soter*. This Office for that turn they bestowed on *Demosthenes*, and for the Performance of it ordered him fifty Talents, the very Sum in which he was condemned. But he did not long enjoy his Country after his Return, for the *Greeks* were entirely ruined soon after. They lost the Battel at *Cranon* in *September*; the Garrison entered into *Munychia* the *October* following, and in *November* *Demosthenes* died after this Manner.

Upon the Report that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were coming to *Athens*, *Demosthenes* with his Party took their Opportunity to escape privily out of the City; but at the Instance of *Demades* they were

conde
selves.
And
ters t
tain,
Exile
porte
they
time,
chias
and L
imene
Aristo
of De
by F
were
then
It is
to be
had
Calab
fels,
cian
vour
to An
no h
Sleep
It se
and
thou
Satis
ter F
the
him
still
upon
taken
little

condemned by the People. They dispersed themselves, flying Some to one Place, Some to Another: And *Antipater* sent about his Soldiers into all Quarters to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called *φυγάδοδιος*, or the Exile-Hunter. He was a *Thurian* born, and is reported to have been an Actor of Tragedies; and they say that *Polus* of *Ægina*, the best Actor of his time, was his Scholar; but *Hermippus* reckons *Archias* among the Disciples of *Lacritus* the Orator; and *Demetrius* says, he spent some time with *Anaximenes*. This *Archias* finding *Hyperides* the Orator, *Aristonicus* of *Marathon*, and *Himæreus* the Brother of *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* at *Ægina*, he took them by Force out of the Temple of *Ajax*, whither they were fled for safety, and sent them to *Antipater* then at *Cleonæ*, where they were all put to Death. It is said farther, that he caused *Hyperides*'s Tongue to be cut out. Being informed that *Demosthenes* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*, he crossed over thither in some light Vessels, and as soon as he had landed with some *Thracian* Spear-men that came with him, he endeavoured to persuade *Demosthenes* to accompany him to *Antipater*, assuring him that he should meet with no hard Usage from him. But *Demosthenes*, in his Sleep the Night before, had an odd unusual Dream: It seemed to him that he was acting a Tragedy, and contended with *Archias* for the Victory; and though he acquitted himself well, and gave good Satisfaction to the Spectators, yet for want of better Furniture and Provision for the Stage, he lost the Day. Wherefore as *Archias* was discoursing to him with many Expressions of Kindness, he sat still in the same Posture, and looking up stedfastly upon him, O *Archias*, said he, *I was never much taken with your Action heretofore, and now I am as little moved by your Promises.* *Archias* beginning at
This

This to grow angry and to threaten him; Now, said Demosthenes, thou speakest like the Oracle of Macedon; before thou didst but act a Part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a Word or two home to my Family. Having thus spoken he withdrew himself farther into the Temple, and taking some Paper, as if he meant to write, he put the Quill into his Mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time. Then he bowed down his Head and covered it. The Soldiers who stood at the Door supposing all This to proceed from Pusillanimity, and Fear of Death, in derision called him effeminate, faint-hearted Coward. And Archias drawing near, desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind Things he had spoken before, he once more promised him to make his Peace with Antipater. But Demosthenes perceiving that now the Poison had pierced and seized his Vitals, uncovered his Head, and fixing his Eyes upon Archias, (1) Now, said he, as soon as you please you may act the Part of Creon in the Tragedy, and cast out this Body of mine unburied: But, continued he, turning towards the Altar, O gracious Neptune, I, for my own Part, while I am yet alive, arise up and depart out of this sacred Place without profaning it, but Antipater and the Macedonians have not left so much as thy Temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my Death: After he had thus spoken and desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward, and passing by the Altar, he fell down, and with a Groan gave up the Ghost.

(1) Demosthenes alludes here to a Speech of Creon's in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, wherein he forbids them to bury Polynices, and commands his Corps to be exposed to the Dogs, and Birds of Prey.

Aristo saith that he took the Poison out of a Quill, as we have shewn before. But *Pappus* a certain Historian (whose History was recovered by *Hermippus*) says, that as he fell near the Altar, there was found in his Paper this Beginning only of a Letter and nothing more, *Demosthenes* to *Antipater*. The Suddenness of his Death was much wondred at, and the *Thracians* who guarded the Doors reported that he took the Poison into his Hand out of a Rag, and put it in his Mouth, and that they imagined it had been Gold which he swallowed. But the Maid that served him, being examined by the Followers of *Archias*, affirmed that he had worn it in a Bracelet for a long time as an Amulet. And *Eratosthenes* Himself says, that he kept the Poison in an hollow Ring, and that Ring was the Bracelet which he wore about his Arm. Many and various are the Reports of Those who have writ concerning this Matter, which it is no way needful to recount: Yet I must not omit what is said by *Democharis*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Demosthenes*, who is of Opinion, (1) it was not by the Help of Poison that he met with so sudden and easie a Death; but that by the singular Favour and Providence of the Gods he was thus rescued from the barbarous Cruelty of the *Macedonians*. He died the sixteenth of *November*; (2) the very Day on which the Women celebrate the most solemn and

(1) *Democharis* was for doing an Honour to the Memory of *Demosthenes* in two Respects; the first was in clearing him from the Scandal of Self-murder, and the other in magnifying the singular Favour of the Gods, who removed him so seasonably, and secured him from the Cruelty of *Antipater*.

(2) The *Athenian* Matrons annually celebrated the *Theismophoria*, a Festival instituted in Honour of *Ceres*. It began the fourteenth of *November*, *Pyanepsio*, and ended the eighteenth. The middle Day of the Festival, which was the third, and consequently the sixteenth Day of the Month, was the Day of the greatest Mortification, for they spent it in fasting from Morning 'till Night, and it is of this third Day *Plutarch* speaks in this Place.

mournful

mournful Ceremonies of the *Theismophoria*, and fast all Day in the Temple of *Ceres*.

Soon after his Death the People of *Athens* bestowed on him such Honours as he had deserved. They erected his Statue in Brass; they decreed that the eldest of his Family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*; and on the Base of his Statue was ingraven this famous Inscription:

*If with the Wisdom of thy Mind
An equal Courage had been join'd,
Greece ne'er had suffer'd so great Harms,
Enslav'd by Macedonians Arms.*

They who say *Demosthenes* Himself was the Author of these Verses, and that he made them in *Calabria*, just before he took the Poison, talk at Random, and are not to be regarded.

I must here mention an Adventure which happened in my time a little before I went to *Athens*. A Soldier being summoned to appear before his superior Officer, and to answer an Accusation brought against him, put that little Gold which he had into the Hands of *Demosthenes's* Statue: The Fingers of this Statue were folded one within another, and near it grew a small Plane-Tree; from which many Leaves (either accidentally blown thither by the Wind, or placed so on purpose by the Man himself) falling together, and lying round about the Gold, concealed it for a long time. At length the Soldier returned, and finding his Treasure entire, the fame of this Accident was spread abroad: And many of the Wits upon this Occasion strove to vindicate *Demosthenes* from Corruption, in several Epigrams which they made on the same Subject.

As for *Demades*, he did not long enjoy the New Honours he had lately gotten; Divine Vengeance for

for the
Macedo
Those
ed. T
time t
avoidab
ed, in
upon
he said
Antipa
the Cor
he first
order f
ence,
length
their C
which
which
have t
as we l



Vol

for the Death of *Demosthenes* pursuing him into *Macedonia*; where he was justly put to Death by Those very People Whom he had so basely flattered. They were weary of him before, but at this time the Guilt he lay under was manifest and unavoidable: For some of his Letters were intercepted, in which he had encouraged *Perdiccas* to fall upon *Macedonia*, and to save the *Græcians*; who, he said, *hung only by an old rotten Thread*, (meaning *Antipater*.) Of This he was accused by *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, and *Cassander* was so enraged, that he first slew his Son in his Bosom, and then gave order for His Execution. Thus by woful Experience, and his own most sad Misfortunes, he was at length convinced, *That Traitors, who make sale of their Country, sell themselves first of all*. A Truth which *Demosthenes* had often foretold him, and which He would never believe. Thus, *Sossius*, you have the Life of *Demosthenes*, from such Passages as we have either read or heard concerning him.





THE
L I F E
O F
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

IT is generally said, that *Helvia*, the Mother of *Cicero*, was both well Born, and lived in good Fashion, but of his Father nothing is reported, but in extreams. For whilst (1) Some would have him the Son of a Fuller, and educated in that Trade, Others reduce the Original of his Fa-

(1) This was the Calumny of *Q. Calenus*. *Dion. Lib. xvi.* *Cicero* in his second Book *de Legibus* tells us, that his Father *M. Tullius* being in an ill State of Health retired to his Country Seat at *Arpinum*, where he applied himself wholly to his Studies. *Cicero* was Forty three Years old when his Father died. He was born before the Death of his Grandfather *M. Tullius Cicero*, of Whom he saith in his third Book *de Legibus*, that he was a Person of great Probity, and that he constantly opposed *M. Gratidius*, tho' he was married to his Sister. He it was who was the Author of that Saying mentioned by *Cicero* in the second Book *de Oratore* Our People, saith he, are like the *Syrians*, whom we expose to Sale in the Market; He among them who knows most Greek is the greatest Knave. How can it be imagined that the Son of such a Man should be brought up in a Fuller's Shop?

mily



L. Cheron. Inv.

Vol. 7: p. 386.

G. V. Guiche Sculp.
48



aily
Vols
was f
worth
ceede
of tha
proac
flat E
the' t
Cicero

But
when
or ch
public
swere
fiden
to rem
of the
ing Q
Silver
on th
and 7
mand
Vetch
of his
Of
was d
Thiro
presen
for th
peare
then

(1)
and no
in the
was the
nus ret
most f
the Bir

mily to (1) *Tullus Attius*, an illustrious King of the *Volsci* : Howsoever He, who First of that House was surnamed *Cicero*, seems to have been a Person worthy to be remembered ; because They who succeeded him did not only not reject but were fond of that Name, tho' vulgarly made a Matter of Reproach. For the *Latins* call a Vetch *Cicer*, and a flat Excrecence in the resemblance of a Vetch on the tip of his Nose, gave him the Surname of *Cicero*.

But This *Cicero*, whose Story I am writing, when some of his Friends advised him to lay aside or change that Name when he first stood for a publick Office, and engaged in Affairs of State, answered them with a great deal of Spirit and Confidence, *That he would make it his utmost Endeavour to render the Name of Cicero more glorious than That of the Scauri and Catulli* ; and therefore when being Questor of *Sicily* he had made an Oblation of Silver Plate to the Gods, and had inscribed thereon the Initial Letters of his two Names *Marcus* and *Tullius*, instead of the Third he jocosely commanded the Artificer to engrave the Figure of a *Vetch* instead of *Cicero*. These things are related of his Name.

Of *Cicero's* Birth it is reported, that his Mother was delivered without Pain or Labour, on (2) the Third of the Nones of *January*, that Day on which at present the Magistrates of *Rome* Pray and Sacrifice for the Emperor ; it is said also that a Spectre appeared to his Nurse, and foretold the Child she then suckled should afterwards become a great Be-

(1) Thus it ought to be read. and not *Tullius Appius*, as it stands in the Text. This *Tullus Attius* was the Person to whom *Coriolanus* retired in his Banishment, almost four hundred Years before the Birth of *Cicero*.

(2) He was born in the six hundred and forty seventh Year of *Rome*, one hundred and four Years before the Birth of our Saviour. *Pompey* was born in the same Year.

The LIFE of

ness to the *Roman* State ; which things would otherwise have appeared Dreams and Trifles, had he not Himself soon demonstrated the Truth of the Prediction, for when he came to the Age of going to School, he was of such eminent Pregnancy, and had such Fame and Glory amongst the Boys, that their Fathers would often visit the School, that they Themselves might behold *Cicero*, and be Eye-Witnesses of that Quickness and Aptness in Learning for which he was so much celebrated ; but the ruder sort were angry with their Children, to see them, as they walked together, receive *Cicero* with respect into the middle place.

He was born as *Plato* would have the Scholar-like and Philosophical Temper to be, for he was disposed to all manner of Learning, and neglectful of no Art or Science, but at first had a more peculiar Propensity to Poetry, (1) and there is a Poem still extant, made by him when a Boy, in *Tetrameter* Verse, called *Pontius Glaucus*.

In progress of time, applying himself more generally to those Studies, he became not only an excellent Orator, (2) but also one of the most eminent

(1) *Eschylus* wrote a Tragedy upon this *Glaucus*, who had been a celebrated Fisher, and one day after eating of a certain Herb he jump't into the Sea, and became a Sea God. *Cicero's* Poem upon the same Subject, which was extant in the days of *Plutarch*, is now lost.

(2) He translated *Aratus* into Verse at the Age of Seventeen ; and wrote a Poem, in which he celebrated the Actions of *Marius*, and which was so much esteemed that *Scevola* said it would live to an infinite Number of Ages, *canescet Sæclis innumerabilibus*; but therein he was deceived, for it is many

Years since it was lost. He wrote also another Poem, in three Books, upon his own Consulate, which is lost likewise. But when he calls him *the most eminent among the Roman Poets*, That Encomium must be confined to the Age wherein he lived, without stretching it farther; for *Cicero* never was thought preferable, nor indeed equal to *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Asinius*, and some Others. As for the Poets his Contemporaries, unless we had seen his Poems we cannot judge whether he deserves to be preferred to *Catullus*, *Varro*, and *Lucretius*. There is now remaining no more than a Fragment of fourteen

or

ment amongst the *Roman* Poets; and the Glory of his *Rhetorick* still remains, notwithstanding the many new Modes in Speaking since his Time; but his Poetry is become wholly obsolete, and without Fame, by reason of so many excellent Poets who have since succeeded and surpassed him.

Leaving his Juvenile Studies, he became an Auditor of *Philo* the Academick, whom the *Romans*, above all the other Scholars of *Clitomachus*, admired for his Eloquence and loved for his pleasant Conversation: He also applied himself to *Mutius Scævola*, an eminent Lawyer, and Prince of the Senate, under Whom he made a great Progress in the knowledge of the Laws.

For some time he served in Arms under *Sylla* in the *Marſian* War, but perceiving the Commonwealth running into Factions, and from Faction all things tending to an absolute Monarchy, he again betook himself to his retired and contemplative Life, and conversing with the Learned *Greeks* wholly applied to his Study, 'till *Sylla* had obtained the Government, and the Commonwealth was in some kind of settlement.

About this time (1) *Sylla* having exposed to Sale by Auction the Estate of a certain Citizen, who was killed, as if he had been proscribed, and causing it to be adjudged to his emancipated Slave *Chrysogonus*

or fifteen Lines of his Poem upon *Marius*, and Another of about Three or Fourſcore of That upon his own Consulate. That of which the most remains is his Poem from *Aratus*. But This is not sufficient for us to form our Judgment upon. It sufficeth, that his Cotemporaries gave him the Preference.

(1) So this Passage ought to be rendered. This happened in the Year of *Rome* six hundred and seventy three, *Cicero* being then in his

twenty seventh Year, under the Consulate of *Corn. Sylla* the Second time, and of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*. The time limited to the Proscription was expired, and They who had escaped were returned, and then it was that *Sylla* murdered *Roscius* the Father, and set his Estate up to Auction. For this Reason *Plutarch* very well saith, He was killed as if he had been proscribed.

for the Sum of two thousand Drachmas, *Roscius* the Son and Heir of the Deceased loudly complained of it, and made it plainly appear that what had thus been sold for two thousand Drachmas was honestly worth two hundred and fifty Talents. Hereupon *Sylla*, who took it heinously to have his Actions questioned, brought a Charge against *Roscius* for the Murder of his Father; and appointed *Chrysogonus* to manage the Evidence.

There was not a Man had Courage enough to stand by this unhappy Gentleman, and appear in his Cause. It was an Office every one declined, out of the Fear they had of *Sylla*, and their Experience of his Cruelty.

He being thus deserted, fled for Refuge to *Cicero*: His Friends encouraged him, as never being like again to have a fairer and more honourable Introduction to Glory; he therefore undertook the Defence, carried the Cause, and was admired for it.

But fearing *Sylla's* Resentment, he travelled into *Greece*, and gave out, that he did it in order to his Health: And indeed he was so lean and meagre, and had such a Weakness in his Stomach, that he could take down nothing but a spare and thin Diet, and That not 'till late in the Evening: His Voice was loud and good, but so harsh and unmanaged, that in vehemence and heat of speaking, he always raised it to so high a Tone, that there was reason to fear the endangering of his Body by it.

When he came to *Athens* he was an Auditor of *Antiochus* the *Ascalonite*, being taken with the Volubility and Elegance of his Speech, altho' he did not approve the Novelty of his Opinions: For *Antiochus* had now fallen off from the New Academy, as they call it, and forsaken the Sect of *Carneades*, either moved by clear Conviction and the evidence of Sense, or, as Some say, through Ambition

bition and Opposition to the Followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, and had changed his Opinion, in most things embracing the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*. But *Cicero* rather affected and adhered to these Doctrines of the New Academy; resolving with himself if he could get no publick Employment in the Commonwealth, to retire thither from Pleading and Political Affairs, and to pass his Life with Quiet in the Study of Philosophy.

But after he had received the News of *Sylla's* Death, and his Body, strengthened by Exercise, was come to a vigorous habit, his Voice managed and render'd sweet and full to the Ear, and pretty well fitted to the Disposition of his Body, his Friends at *Rome* earnestly solliciting him by Letters, and *Antiochus* as much persuading him to return to publick Affairs, he again applyed himself to Rhetorick, as the proper Instrument of a Statesman; and re-excited his Political Faculty, both diligently exercising himself in Declamations, and frequenting the celebrated Orators of that time.

This induced him to travel into *Asia*, and to *Rhodes*; amongst the *Asian* Rhetoricians he conversed with *Xenocles* of *Adramyttus*, *Dionysius* of *Magnesia*, and *Menippus* of *Caria*; and at *Rhodes* he studied under *Apollonius Molon* the Rhetorician, and *Possidonius* the Philosopher.

It is reported that *Apollonius* not understanding the *Roman* Language, desired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*, and that he readily obeyed him, as knowing it the best way to have his Defects amended: After he had ended his Declamation, Others were astonished, and mutually contended in Praise of the Orator; but *Apollonius*, as he had discovered no great Transport whilst he heard him, so when he had done, he sat musing with himself some considerable time; at which *Cicero* being disturbed, he said unto him, *Thee, O Cicero, I praise*

and admire, but I pity the Fortune of Greece, when I see Arts and Eloquence, the only Ornaments that were left her, by Thee transported to the Romans.

And now when *Cicero*, full of Expectation, was again bent upon Political Affairs, a certain Oracle blunted the Edge of his Inclination; for consulting the God at *Delphi* how he should arrive at the top of Glory, the *Pythia* answered, (1) *By making his own Genius, and not the Opinion of the People, the Guide of his Life*; and therefore at first he passed his Time in *Rome* cautiously, and was very backward in pretending to publick Offices, so that he was at that time in little esteem, and had got the Names of (2) *Greek* and *Scholar*, (3) the usual terms of Reproach, which the meanest Mechanicks and Dregs of the People had in their Mouths upon all Occasions.

But being by Nature very desirous of Fame, and by his Father and Relations also incited thereto, he applyed himself to Pleading, in which he arrived at an Eminence, not by gentle and slow degrees, but on a sudden his Glory shone forth, and he far surpassed all the Advocates at the Bar.

At first it is said he was, as well as *Demosthenes*, very defective in Action, and therefore he diligently applied himself sometimes to *Roscius* the Comedian, and sometimes to *Æsop* the Tragedian.

They report of this *Æsop*, that whilst he was representing on the Theatre *Atreus* deliberating in

(1) This Answer was very wise and pertinent. He that follows the Opinion of the People will be sure to wander out of the way. We shall see by and by an Explication of this Oracle.

(2) That was because he always declaimed in *Greek*, and continued to Study under the *Græcian* Philosophers, tho' he was thirty Years of Age. The People had a No-

tion that Study was fitting only for Children.

(3) Thus are we to expound the pretended Oracle which ordained him to make his own Genius, and not the Opinion of the People, his Guide. For if he had followed the Opinion of the People, who despised him for his Course of Life, he had stopped short, and done nothing.

what

what manner he should Revenge himself on *Thyestes*, he was so transported beyond himself in the heat of Action, that with his Truncheon (1) he smote one of his Servants hastily crossing the Stage, and laid him dead upon the Place.

And such afterwards was *Cicero's* Action, that it did not a little contribute to render his Eloquence persuasive; wherefore deriding the Orators of his time, who knew no other way to touch the Hearers but by making a great Noise, he said, *It was want of Ability to speak that made them bawl, as lame Men who cannot walk are forced to get on Horseback.*

And indeed his facetious Humour in jeering and jesting seemed very proper and delightful at the Bar, but his using it to excess offended Many, and gave him the repute of ill Manners.

He was appointed *Questor* in a great Scarcity of Corn, and had *Sicily* for his Province, where tho' at first he displeased Some, by compelling them to send in their Provisions to *Rome*; yet after they had had experience of his Care, Justice, and Clemency, (2) they Honoured him more than ever they had done any of their Governours before.

(1) We have here a strong Instance of the Effects of Enthusiasm, And This is an evident Demonstration that those Actors entered so wholly into their Parts that they were transported, and not Themselves: And indeed it will be almost impossible to act with Applause, if the Actor doth not really feel the Passion he is to represent.

(2) For This we have his own Word in his Oration for *Plancius*, where he saith he is sure no one will affirm that any *Questor* in *Sicily* ever rendered his Office more agreeable to the People, or more

glorious in itself, than He had done His; that in a great Scarcity he had sent a large Supply of Corn to *Rome*; that all the World were so taken with his Meekness, Justice, Candour, and Liberality, and had found him so ready to oblige them on all Occasions, that the *Sicilians* invented Honours unknown, unheard of before, and conferred them on Him: so that he was persuaded nothing was so much talked of at *Rome* as his Pretorial Administration. We meet with more to the same Purpose in his second and seventh Oration against *Verres*.

Not

Not long after some young Men of good and noble Families, charged with Disorder and Dissoluteness against Martial Discipline, were sent back from *Rome* to the Pretor of *Sicily*; but *Cicero* so excellently managed their Defence, that he got them all discharged.

Returning to *Rome* with a great Opinion of himself for these things, he Himself tells us a pleasant Accident befel him on the Road; (1) for lighting on an eminent Citizen of *Rome* in *Campania*, whom he accounted his Friend, and asking him what the *Romans* said and thought of his Actions, as if the whole City had been filled with the Noise and Glory of what he had done, he answered, *Why Cicero, where hast thou been all this time?* It struck him dead at Heart, to perceive that the Report of his Actions was fallen into the City of *Rome* as into an immense Ocean, without any return of publick Glory. And therefore afterwards considering with himself, that the Glory he contended for was an infinite thing, and that there was neither End nor Measure in such Pursuits, he abated much of his Ambitious Thoughts: Yet, nevertheless, he was excessively pleased with his own Praise, and continued to the very last most passionately desirous of Glory; which often interrupted the Prosecution of his wisest Resolutions.

(1) In his Oration for *Plancius*, soon after the Passage quoted in the foregoing Remark. But he tells us it in a manner something different, and indeed more agreeable. Leaving *Sicily*, saith he, at the Expiration of my Quæstorship, and arriving at *Puteoli*, where a great many Citizens of the first Rank use to reside for some time in the Year. I must confess I was much mortified and cast down when one of them asked me, "When I came from

"stirring there"? I reply'd, "That I was just returned from my Province. Cry you Mercy, said he. I think it is from *Africk*." "No, no, out of *Sicily*". I reply'd in a surly Tone mixed with Anger and Disdain; when Another seeming to know all that had passed, "What, said he, do you not know that he was Quæstor at *Syracuse*?" At these Words I was pacified, and did as the Rest, who came thither to drink the Waters.

Applying

A
Bust
Arti
shou
of th
publ
carel
relat
only
knev
more
sed,
of h
the
name
Frien

Ha
peten
dered
Clien
in th
This
comm
and t
prosec
ned,
ing h
favour
severa
Cicero,
for th

(1) T
of *Rome*
Cicero be
venth Y
Verres g
from tim
might n

Applying himself more resolutely to publick Business, he accounted it an absurd thing, that Artificers using Vessels and Instruments inanimate, should know the Name, Place, and Use of every one of them; and yet the Statesman, who manageth publick Affairs by Men, should be negligent and careless in the Knowledge of Persons and Things relating to the Commonwealth; and therefore he not only acquainted himself with the Names, but also knew the particular Place where every one of the more eminent Citizens dwelt, what Lands he possessed, the Friends he made use of, and Those who were of his Neighbourhood; and when he travelled the Road in any Parts of *Italy*, he could readily name and shew the Estates and Seats of his Friends.

Having so small an Estate, tho' a sufficient Competency for his own Expences, it was much wondered that he took neither Fees nor Gifts from his Clients, which Self-denial appeared more especially in the Prosecution he undertook against *Verres*. This *Verres* had been Pretor of *Sicily*, where he committed many horrible Crimes and Exactions, and the *Sicilians* being come to *Rome* in order to prosecute him; *Cicero* caused him to be condemned, not by speaking, but in a manner by holding his Tongue. For the Majority of the Judges favouring *Verres*, (1) had deferred the Tryal by several Adjournments to the last Day; whereupon *Cicero*, who saw there could not be sufficient Time for the Advocates to be heard, nor to bring the

(1) This happened in the Year of *Rome* Six Hundred thirty three. *Cicero* being then in his Thirty seventh Year. They who espoused *Verres* got the Cause to be put off from time to time, to the end it might not come to a Hearing 'till the Year following, when *G. Hortensius* and *G. Caelius Metellus Creticus* were to be Consuls. *Cicero* eluded all This, and got *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading against him, but by not pleading at all.

Cause to an Issue, rose up, and said, there was no need of Speeches; and therefore producing and examining Witnesses, he required the Judges to proceed to Sentence.

And yet there are many pleasant things said to be spoken by *Cicero* in this Cause. As when an emancipated Slave, by Name (1) *Cecilius*, suspected of the Jewish Religion, would have put by the *Sicilians*, and undertaken the Prosecution of *Verres* Himself, *Cicero* said, *But what has a Jew to do with Swines Flesh?* For the *Romans* call a gilt Pig, *Verres*. *Verres* reproaching *Cicero* for Effeminacy, he replied, *you should have given this Reproach to your own Children*; for *Verres* had a Son, a pretty grown Boy, who was supposed basely to prostitute his Beauty. *Hortensius* the Orator not daring directly to undertake the Defence of *Verres*, was yet persuaded to appear for him at the laying on of the Fine, and received an Ivory *Sphynx* for his Reward: *Cicero* in some Passage of his Speech obliquely reflecting on him, *Hortensius* told him *he was not skilful in solving Riddles*; No! says *Cicero*, (2) *and yet you have a Sphynx at home*.

Verres being thus condemned, and *Cicero* setting the Fine but at (3) Seventy five Myriads, he lay under

(1) This was *Quintus Cacilius Niger*, a *Sicilian*, who had been Questor to *Verres*, during his Pretorship in that Island. He pretended that the Right was in Him to accuse *Verres*, but he was fully refuted by *Cicero*.

(2) Some pretend that this Saying is not to the purpose, since the *Sphynx* made it her Business to propose Riddles, and not to solve them. But This is trifling; for certainly she who cou'd propose them, knew likewise how to explain them.

(3) *Myriades simpliciter posita in re nummaria nunquam aliud significant quam Decem Millia Drachmarum*, ut decies apud Latinos nunquam aliud quam decies Sestertium. *Gronovius de pecunia veteri*, p. 541. Ed. Elsev. So that the 75 Myriads in *Cicero's Taxation* must be accounted Myriads of Denarii, which, as *Rualdus* computes them, amounts to Tricies sestertium, a Sum far short of the Legal Penalty in such Cases; and therefore there must be an Error in Plutarch, or his Transcriber, or rather

under
to le
stim
many
of v
but
dow
H
Arpi
peii,
tion
Myr
to N
ly a
Rom
any t
not f
Wea
the
that
Rub
Hab
heal
Lab
H
but
migh
Tho

he has
of no
be tak
ro's o
viden
render
corrup
intima
quire
his w
which

under the Suspicion of being corrupted by Bribery to lessen the Sum. But yet the *Sicilians*, in Testimony of their Gratitude, sent and brought him many Presents from that Isle when he was *Ædile*; of which he made no private Gain for himself, but rather made use of their Generosity to bring down the Price of Victuals.

He had a very pleasant Seat in the Territory of *Arpi*, a Farm near *Naples*, and Another near *Pompeii*, but Neither of any great Value. The Portion of his Wife *Terentia* amounted to Twelve Myriads, and his own Inheritance was computed to Nine Myriads of *Denarii*; on this he lived freely and temperately, with the learned *Greeks* and *Romans* who were his Familiars. He rarely if at any time sat down to Meat 'till Sun-set, and That not so much for Business, as for his Health and the Weakness of his Stomach. He was otherwise in the care of his Body nice and delicate, insomuch that he used himself to a set number of Walks and Rubbings; and after this manner managing the Habit of his Body, he brought it in time to be healthful, and able to endure great Fatigue and Labour.

He made over his paternal Seat to his Brother, but he Himself dwelt near Mount *Palatine*, that he might not give the trouble of long Journeys to Those who made suit to him; and indeed there

he has been mis-led by some Memoirs of no Authority: But if an Account be taken of this Matter from Cicero's own Relation, it will be very evident that he gave no occasion to render his Justice suspected of being corrupted by Bribery, as Plutarch intimates. For he did not only require of Verres the double Value of his unjust Extortions in Sicily, which was the least Sum that could

be by Law imposed, but with a more severe Justice also one other half. For Verres's Exactions being valued at Quadraginties, the double Forfeiture amounts but to Octingenties sestertium, but he demands Mille sestertium, quo nomine à te Millies Sestertium, ex lege repeto, ut ex divinatione & oratione in Verrem patet.

were

were not fewer daily appearing at his Door, to do their Court to Him, than did to *Crassus* for his Riches, or to *Pompey* for his Power amongst the Soldiers, the most admired and greatest Men of *Rome* at that time. Yea *Pompey* Himself paid Observance to *Cicero*, and *Cicero*'s Power in the Commonwealth conferred much to the Encrease of the Authority and Glory of *Pompey*. When many and great Competitors stood with him for the Pretor's Office, he was chosen before them All, and managed the Decision of Causes with great Justice and Integrity. (1) It is reported that *Licinius Macer*, a Man Himself of great Power in the City, and supported also by the Assistance of *Crassus*, was accused before him of Extortion, and that in Confidence of his own Interest, and the Diligence of his Friends, whilst the Judges were debating about the Sentence, he went to his own House, where hastily trimming himself, and putting on a white Gown, as already acquitted, he returned again towards the Court; but *Crassus* meeting him in the Porch, and telling him, that he was condemned by general Suffrage, he went home, threw himself upon his Bed, and died immediately: This Sentence gave Reputation to *Cicero* for his Dexterity in over-ruling the Bench. There was another Person named *Vatinius*, of a surly Temper, who used to

(1) *C. Licinius Macer* being accused of Embezzlements, the Cause was tryed by *Cicero*. He was an intimate Friend, and near Relation to *Crassus*, whose Authority was very great, notwithstanding which he was condemned by *Cicero*. *Cicero* speaks of this Affair in his first Book and third Letter to *Atticus*. *Nos hic incredibili, ac singulari Populi voluntate de C. Macro transigimus, cui cum equi fuisset, tamen multo major*

rem fructum ex populi existimatione, illo damnato cepimus, nam ex ipsis, si absolutus esset, gratia cepissemus. By which we are to understand that the Reputation he was in with the People on Account of his Equity and Justice for condemning him, was more important than any Benefit he might have received from the Favour and Gratitude of *Macer* if he had acquitted him.

behave

behave himself irreverently at the Bar, and had his Neck swoln with scrophulous Humours. This Man one day accosted *Cicero* as he was upon the Bench, and demanded some Favour of the Court; whilst *Cicero* was demurring upon it, and doubting with himself whether it should be granted, or not, he told him *I wou'd not hesitate so long upon it if I was Pretor*, when *Cicero* turning towards him replied, (1) *but my Neck is not so thick as yours.*

When there were but two or three Days remaining in his Office, *Manilius* was brought before him, and charged with Extortion. Now this *Manilius* had the good Opinion and Favour of the common People, and was thought to be prosecuted only for *Pompey's* Sake, whose particular Friend he was; and therefore, when he had asked a set time for his Tryal, and *Cicero* had allowed him but one Day, and That the next only, the common People grew highly offended, because it had been the Custom of the Pretors to allow ten Days at least to the Accused. The next Day the Tribunes cited *Cicero* to appear before the People, accused him of Prevarication, and required him to answer to the Charge; whereupon desiring to be heard, he said, *that as he had always used the Accused with Humanity and Indulgence, as far as the Law allowed, so he thought it hard to deny the Same to Manilius, for which reason he had studiously appointed that Day, of which only, as Pretor, he was Master; and that it was not the part of Those who were desirous to help him, to cast the Judgment of his Cause upon another Pretor.* These words made a wonderful change in the minds of the People, who highly commended him for his Good-will, and desired that He himself would undertake the Defence of

(1) It has been before observed on by the Ancients as a Token of that a thick Neck was looked upon as Impudence and Temerity.

Manilius, which he willingly consented to, and that principally for the sake of *Pompey*, who was absent, and therefore stating the Case, and making a Deduction of the whole Affair in an Oration, he inveighed in strong Terms against Those who adhered to the Interest of the Oligarchy, and envied *Pompey*.

Yet he was preferred to the Consulship no less by the Good-will and Favour of the Nobility than of the Common People; both the One and the Other uniting their Interests, and acting in concert for the obtaining that Dignity to be conferred upon him for the good of the Publick. The change of Government made by *Sylla*, which at first seemed intolerable, by Time and Usage did now appear to the People no ill way of Settlement; there were indeed Some who endeavoured to alter and subvert the present State of Affairs, but more for their own private Gain than the publick Good.

Pompey being at this time employed in the War against the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, there wanted sufficient Force at *Rome* to suppress Those who affected Change in the Commonwealth: These had for their Head *Lucius Catilina*, a Man of a bold, enterprizing, and restless Spirit, so crafty and designing, that he could with the greatest Ease assume what Character, and put on what Shape he pleased. Besides many other great Offences, he was accused of an incestuous Commerce with his own Virgin Daughter, and of killing his own Brother, and to prevent his being called to Account for it he persuaded *Sylla* to put him in the List of Those who were proscribed, as if he had been still living. Those Profligates having got such a Captain to head them, united themselves under the strongest Engagements, and in order more firmly to cement and perfect this Union, they sacrific-

ced

ced a Man, and every one of them eat of the Flesh of the Sacrifice.

Catiline had already corrupted the greatest Part of the *Roman* Youth, by procuring for them every Day new Pleasures, supplying them with Women, and Money to answer the Expence of their constant Riots and Debauches. All *Etruria* was in a Disposition to revolt, and a great part of *Gallicia Cisalpina*, but *Rome* it self was in the most dangerous Inclination to change, by reason of the unequal Distribution of the Wealth of that Place, for Persons of the greatest Honour and Spirit had made themselves poor by Shews, Entertainments, Ambition of Offices, and Sumptuous Buildings, whereby the Riches of the City were fallen into the Hands of mean and despicable Persons; and by these means Affairs were brought to that pass that it was in the Power of every daring Man to overturn a sickly Commonwealth.

But *Catiline* being farther desirous of procuring to himself a strong Fort, in order to the favouring of his Designs, set up for the Consulship, and was in great hopes of having *Caius Antonius* for his Colleague; a Man, of himself, neither a fit Leader for the best nor worst Designs, but such a one as might make a good Accession to the Power of Another, who should have the Conduct of him. The best and soundest part of the Citizens foreseeing this Danger, prest *Cicero* to stand for the Consulship, and the People supporting his Pretensions with great Zeal and Chearfulness, *Catiline* miscarried, and *Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were returned Consuls, though amongst all the Competitors *Cicero* was the only Man descended from a Father of the *Equestrian*, and not of the *Patrician* Order.

Tho' the Designs of *Catiline* were not yet publickly known; yet many previous Commotions immediately followed upon *Cicero's* Entrance upon the

The LIFE of

Consulship. For on the one side, They who by the Laws of *Sylla* were incapable of any publick Offices, being neither inconsiderable in Power nor Number, stood and caressed the People for them; and it must be confessed that they alledged many things against the Violence and Tyranny of *Sylla*, which were in reality very just and true, but they were then urged at an improper and unseasonable time, and tended only to embroil and distress the Government: On the other side, the Tribunes of the People proposed Laws which had a view to the same thing; for they were for constituting a *Decemvirate* with unaccountable Power; with Whom, as Lords, should be the Right of selling the publick Lands of all *Italy* and *Syria*, and whatsoever *Pompey* had newly conquered, of judging and banishing whom they pleased, and of planting Colonies, of taking Monies out of the Treasury, and of levying and paying what Soldiers should be thought needful. This exorbitant Power made several of the Nobility, especially *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* Colleague, favour the Law, in hopes of being one of the Ten. It was moreover thought that he was no Stranger to *Catiline's* Designs, nor averse to them, because he was involved in Debt, and had no other way left to disengage himself; and This served to augment the Fears of all Those who were Wellwishers to their Country.

Cicero endeavouring in the first place to provide a Remedy against this Danger, got the Province of *Macedonia* to be decreed to *Antonius*, and relinquished *Gaul*, which had been allotted to Himself. This great piece of Service so wrought upon *Antonius*, that he had him at his Beck upon all Occasions, like a hired Player, he found him always ready to second him for the good of his Country. When he had made him thus tame and tractable, *Cicero* with greater Courage attacked the Affectors

of

of In
in ful
rate,
Thos
reply
not b
recou
Confi
cero w
Senat
the P
not o
put t
some
Ascen
Eloqu
Perfo
mans,
which
is, if
for F
monw
is hor
Speak
from
strong
quenc
Confu
Roma
Theat
his Pr
Order
and ap

(1) T
de lege
was bac
are all T
is very n

of Innovation; and therefore (1) making an Oration in full Senate against this new Law of the *Decemvirate*, contended for by the Tribunes, he so confounded Those who had proposed it, that they had nothing to reply. Notwithstanding all This, the Tribunes could not be brought to give over their Design, but had recourse to a new Expedient. They summoned the Consuls to appear before the People, at which *Cicero* was so far from being alarmed, that ordering the Senate to attend him, and presenting himself to the People at the Head of that illustrious Body, he not only carried it to have that Law rejected, but put the Tribunes out of all Hopes of succeeding in some other Points they had in Agitation, such an Ascendant had he over them by the Power of his Eloquence. For of all the Orators He was the Person who most clearly demonstrated to the *Romans*, how great a relish Eloquence gives to That which is good, and how invincible a just Proposal is, if it be well spoken; and that it is necessary for Him, who would dextrously govern a Commonwealth, in Action always to prefer That which is honest before That which is popular; and in Speaking, to separate That which is offensive, from That which is convenient. We have a strong Instance of the Persuasiveness of his Eloquence, in an Accident which fell out during his Consulship in the Theatre. Before his time the *Roman* Knights were placed promiscuously in the Theatre among the Common People. (2) *Otho* in his Pretorship was the First who in honour to that Order distinguished them from the other Citizens, and appointed them a proper Seat, which they still

(1) This was his first Oration *de lege Agraria* against *Rullus*, and was backed by two more. They are all Three extant, only the Last is very much mutilated.

(2) *Otho* had got this Law passed four Years before, when *Piso* and *Glabrio* were Consuls; but he was not Pretor, he was then Tribune of the People.

enjoy. This the common People took as an Indignity done to Them; and therefore one day when *Otho* appeared in the Theatre, they in reproach hissed him; the Knights on the contrary received him with loud clapping; the People repeated and encreased their hissing, the Knights continued and encreased their clapping; upon This turning upon one another, they fell to Reproaches, so that the Theatre was in great Disorder: *Cicero* being informed of it came thither in Person, and summoning the People into the Temple of *Bellona*, he reproved them in such strong terms, and so effectually remonstrated the Case to them, that they returned immediately into the Theatre, clapped *Otho*, and contended with the Knights who should give him the greatest Demonstrations of Honour and Respect.

In the mean time *Catiline's* Accomplices, who were at first alarmed and intimidated, began to take Heart, and assembling themselves together, they exhorted one another more boldly to undertake the Design before *Pompey's* Return, who, as it was said, was now on his March toward *Rome* with all his Forces. But That, which chiefly hastened and excited *Catiline*, were the *Veteran* Soldiers, who had served under *Sylla*, and were now dispersed throughout *Italy*, but the greatest Numbers of them, and the most valiant and experienced were quartered up and down in *Tuscany*, dreaming of new Plunder, and being already in their Imaginations Masters of all the Riches of *Italy*. These having for their Leader an Officer named *Manlius*, who had eminently served in the Wars under *Sylla*, joined themselves to *Catiline*, and came to *Rome* to assist him with their Suffrages at the Election: For he again pretended to the Consulship, having resolved to kill *Cicero* in the Tumult of the Assembly.

It looked as if some God did by Earthquakes, Thunders, and Spectres foretel the Design; and there were also Intimations from Men concerning it, true enough in themselves, tho' not sufficient for the Conviction of a Person so noble and powerful as *Catiline*: Wherefore *Cicero* deferring the Day of Election, conven'd *Catiline* into the Senate, and there examined him of those things that were reported. *Catiline* believing there were Many in the Senate desirous of Change, and to give a Specimen of himself to the Conspirators present, answered with a gentle Hypocrisie: *What Harm do I do, said he, if of two Bodies, the one Lean and Consumptive with a Head, the other great and strong without one, I put a Head to that Body which wants it.* These things being Enigmatically spoken of the Senate and People, *Cicero* was the more afraid.

Wherefore, when the Day of Election came, he armed himself with a Coat of Mail, and was conducted from his own House into the *Campus Martius* by the most eminent of the Citizens, and almost all the Youth of *Rome*. There he designedly threw aside his upper Garment, and exposed his Coat of Mail to publick View, that All might be sensible of the Danger he was in. The Sight of it immediately irritated the People to a high degree, and made them gather round about him for his Security and Defence. In short, when they came to give in their Votes, *Catiline* met with a second Repulse, and *Silanus* and *Murena* were chosen Consuls.

Not long after This, when *Catiline's* Soldiers were got together in a Body in *Etruria*, the Day appointed for the Design being near at Hand; Three of the principal and most powerful Citizens of *Rome*, *Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*, went in the dead of the Night to *Cicero's* House, where knocking at the Gate, and calling

up the Porter, they commanded him to awake *Cicero*, and tell him they were there. The Business was This; *Crassus's* Porter after Supper had delivered him Letters brought by an unknown Person: Some of them were directed to Others, but One to *Crassus* without a Name: this only *Crassus* read, which informed him, that there was a great Slaughter intended by *Catiline*, and advised him to leave the City: The Others he did not open; but went with them immediately to *Cicero*, being affrighted at the Danger, and to free himself of the Suspicion he lay under for his Familiarity with *Catiline*. *Cicero* having considered with Them what was proper to be done, summoned the Senate at break of Day. When the Fathers were met he delivered the Letters to Those to whom they were directed, commanding them to read them publickly. They were All to the same Purpose, containing an Account of the Conspiracy.

When *Quintus Arrius*, a Man of Pretorian Dignity, had declared that there was a Rising in *Etruria*; and that *Manlius* was said to be hovering about the Cities in those Parts with a great Force, in Expectation of an Insurrection in *Rome*; the Senate passed a Decree, by which all Affairs were referred to the Consuls, who were thereby vested with full Authority to act as they should see Cause for the Publick Safety, and to provide against any Damage that might befall the Commonwealth. This was a Step seldom or never taken by the Senate, but in times of imminent Danger. After *Cicero* had received this Power, he committed all Affairs abroad to *Q. Metellus*, but kept the Care and Government of the City in his own Hands. Such a numerous Attendance guarded him every Day he went abroad, that the *Forum* was hardly capable to contain Those who followed him. *Catiline*, impatient of further Delay, resolved Himself to fly to *Manlius's* Camp; but commanded *Marcus* and *Cethegus*

to go
only
him
Rome
form
to be
Affair
and
Porte
still
Ci
stant
the
the
Catili
in or
tors
Benc
began
not b
At
leave
wealth
it wa
Catili
being
Men
Rods
went
Body
to th
force
Anto
A
ed in
mate
of a
for

to go early in the Morning to *Cicero's* Gates, as if only intending to salute him, and then to fall upon him and slay him. A Lady of the first Quality in *Rome*, named *Fulvia*, went by Night to *Cicero*, informed him of the Danger he was in, and advised him to beware of *Cethegus* and his Accomplice. These Assassines were at the Gate early in the Morning, and being refused Admittance, they stormed at the Porter, and grew very noisy, which rendered them still the more suspected.

Cicero going out at the usual Hour with his constant Attendants, summoned the Senate to meet in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, seated on the Top of the Holy Street, which goeth up to the Capitol. *Catiline* made his Appearance there among the rest, in order to justify himself, but none of the Senators would sit by him; but all of them left that Bench where he had placed himself, and when he began to speak interrupted him, so that he could not be heard.

At length *Cicero* standing up commanded him to leave the City; for since One governed the Commonwealth with Words only, and the Other with Arms, it was necessary there should be a Wall betwixt them: *Catiline* therefore immediately left the Town, being attended with three hundred armed Men; and taking to himself, as a Magistrate, the Rods, Axes, and other Ensigns of Authority, he went to *Manlius*, and having got together a Body of near twenty thousand Men, he marched to the several Cities, endeavouring to persuade or force them to revolt. The War being thus begun *Antonius* was sent forth to fight him.

All those, who had been corrupted, and remained in the City, assembled together, and were animated by *Cornelius Lentulus* Surnamed *Sura*, a Man of a noble Family, but a dissolute Liver, and who for his Debauchery had been formerly expelled the Senate,

Senate. He was then the second time Prætor, as the Custom was (1) when ejected Persons were putting themselves in a way to be restored to the Honour they had forfeited. It is said that he got the Surname of *Sura* upon this Occasion: Whilst he was Questor under *Sylla*, he lavished away and consumed a great Quantity of the publick Monies, at which *Sylla* being provoked called upon him to give an Account of the Sums that had been remitted to him, in full Senate. *Lentulus* behaved himself with the greatest Indifference, by which it appeared that he was not much startled at the De-

(1) This Passage confirms to us a remarkable Custom among the *Romans*, which it will not be improper to explain in this Place, and shew by what means a Senator, who had been expelled the House, might recover his Seat, and be re-instated. He could not be re-established but by one of these five ways following; either by being retained by the Collegue of the Censor, who had expelled him; or recalled by the succeeding Censors; or by clearing himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge before proper Judges commissioned for that Purpose; or upon being absolved by the Suffrages of the People; or, lastly, by passing through the inferior Offices wherein he had formerly served, and so rising by Degrees up to the curule Dignities, which only could put him in a State of Rehabilitation. But in this last Expedient the following Difference was observed. If the Senator had enjoyed a curule Office before his Expulsion, he was not obliged to pass through the inferior Offices, it was sufficient if he was restored to the Office he had before exercised, and he was

obliged to stand for it, and carry it in the common Forms. This is confirmed by two notable Instances, by the Example of *Salust*, and That of *Lentulus*, of which *Plutarch* speaks in this Place. *Salust* when he had been no more than Questor, was expelled the Senate by the Censors *Appius Claudius*, and *Piso*. He stood the second time for the Office of Questor, after which he was restored, not in Virtue of his Office, for the curule Offices only could give him that Prerogative, but by the Credit of *Cæsar*; whereas *Lentulus*, who was expelled the Senate after he had been Consul, was not obliged to descend to the inferior Offices he had formerly executed, the Questorship for Instance, it was sufficient for him if he put up for, and obtained the Prætorship once more, which gave him a full right to his Seat in the Senate. This plainly appears from *Dion*, who in his twenty seventh Book tells us, "that *Lentulus*, one of *Catiline's* Adherents, having been Consul, was at that time Prætor, in order to recover his Dignity.

mand,

mand, and told him, *that he had no Account to give in, but that he presented him with the Calf of his Leg;* as it was customary among Boys to do when they make a Default at Ball; upon which he was Sur-named *Sura*, for the *Romans* call the Calf of the Leg *Sura*.

Being at another time prosecuted at Law, and corrupting the Majority of the Judges, and escap-ing by two Suffrages only, he complained *that what he had given to One of those two Judges was just so much Money lost, because one Suffrage would have been sufficient to have absolved him.*

This Man, such a one in his own Nature, and incensed by *Catiline*, (1) the false Prophets and Magicians had also corrupted with vain Hopes, in-chanting him with fictitious Verses and Oracles, and demonstrating from the Sibylline Prophecies, *that there were Three of the Name of Cornelius de-sign'd by Fate to be Monarchs of Rome; Two of Whom, Cinna and Sylla, had already fulfilled the fatal Decree, and that the Gods were now coming to offer the Mo-narchy to the Third Cornelius, who ought by all Means to lay hold of it, and not lose his Opportunity by De-lay, as Catiline had done.*

Lentulus therefore designed no mean or trivial Matters, for he had resolved to kill the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as he could, to fire the City, and spare no body but only *Pompey's* Children, intend-ing to seize and keep Them as Pledges of his Re-conciliation with their Father: For even then the Report ran current, that *Pompey* was returning from his glorious Expedition. The Night appointed for the Design was the first of the *Saturnalia*. They had already lodged Swords, Flax, and Sulphur in

(1) It often happens, that the false Promises and Predictions of such Impostors, prove fatal Delu-sions to weak Minds puffed up with Vanity, and expose them to the utmost Dangers. Of This we have many Tragical Examples in History.

the House of *Cethegus*, and providing one hundred Men, and dividing the City into as many Parts, they had allotted to every one singly his proper Place, so that in a Moment Many kindling the Fire, the City might be in a Flame all together; Others were appointed to guard the Aqueducts, and to kill such as should fetch Water from thence to quench it.

Whilst these Things were preparing, it hapned that there were two Ambassadors from the *Allobroges* then resident at *Rome*, a Nation at that time in a distressed Condition, and very uneasie under the *Roman* Government: These *Lentulus* and his Party adjudging useful Instruments to move and seduce *Gaul* to revolt, admitted into the Conspiracy, and gave them Letters to their own Magistrates, containing a Promise of Liberty to their Nation. At the same time they wrote to *Catiline*, exhorting him to set all the Slaves at Liberty, to lift them, and march to *Rome* with all Expedition. These Letters were committed to the Care of *Titus* a *Crotonian*, who was dispatched at the same time with the Ambassadors, and ordered to deliver them safe to *Catiline*. But all these Plots and Contrivances being the Undertakings of rash and inconsiderate Men, who never consulted upon their Affairs but in their Cups, and in Company with Women, were soon unravelled by *Cicero*, who with extraordinary Care and consummate Prudence kept a constant Eye upon them; besides which he had his Emissaries in every Quarter of the City, who watched all their Motions, dogged them where-ever they went, and made a Report to Him of all their Proceedings. He had moreover secret Conferences in the Night with Many of Those who were thought to be engaged in the Conspiracy, of whom he had made sure, and by whom he was informed of all the Discourses which had passed betwixt Them and the Strangers

gers.
bush
nian
Then
spond
ed th
he re

On
posed
Conf
also,
Matt
one o
found
Swor
the S
on D
conv
tor)
the S
agree
upon
comm

As
ing al
and d
ing
condu

(1)
whom
pering
they
from th
rators v
sonably
rence
embrac
and m
made a

gers. Upon this Information he planted an Ambush in the Night-time, and secured the *Crotonian* with all his Letters, (1) the Ambassadors Themselves being assistant to him, and in Correspondence with him. By break of Day he summoned the Senate into the Temple of *Concord*, where he read the Letters and examined the Discoverers.

One of the Senators, named *Junius Silanus*, deposed that Several had heard *Cethegus* say, that three Consuls and four Prætors were to be massacred; *Piso* also, a Person of Consular Dignity, testified other Matters of the like Nature; and *Caius Sulpicius*, one of the Prætors, being sent to *Cethegus's* House, found there a great Quantity of Arrows, Arms, Swords and Daggers, all newly furnished: At length the Senate decreeing Indemnity to the *Crotonian*, upon Discovery of the whole matter, *Lentulus* was convicted, abjured his Office, (for he was then Prætor) and put off his Robe edged with Purple in the Senate, changing it for another Garment more agreeable to his present Circumstance: He thereupon, with the rest of his Confederates present, was committed to the Prætor in free Custody.

As it grew late, and the People were all crowding about the Gate, *Cicero* at last went out to them, and declared publickly all that had been transacting. After This the People, in honour to him, conducted him to the House of one of his Friends,

(1) These Ambassadors, with whom *Umbrenus* had been tampering, comparing the Advantages they might promise themselves from their Interest in the Conspirators with Those they might reasonably expect from their Adherence and Fidelity to the State, embraced the Latter as the safer and more convenient Party; and made a Discovery of the whole

Plot to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was at that time Protector of their Nation. *Cicero* contrived to have those Ambassadors, who acted now in concert with him, to depart at a convenient time, and had them stopped as they were passing over the *Milvian* Bridge, by an Ambuscade he had ordered to be posted there for that Purpose.

his Own being taken up by the Women, who were then celebrating with secret Rites the Festival of the Goddess, whom the *Romans* call *Bona*, or *the Good*, the *Greeks* *Gunæcea*; for a Sacrifice was annually performed to her in the Consul's House, either by his Wife or Mother, in the Presence of the Vestal Virgins.

Cicero being got to his Friend's House, where a Few only were present, began to deliberate with Himself how he ought to deal with the Prisoners; the severest Punishment, and such indeed as was fit for so great Crimes, he was afraid, and shie of executing, as well from the Clemency of his Nature, as also lest he should be thought to exercise his Authority too insolently, and to treat too rudely Men of the Noblest Birth and most powerful Friendships in the City; and yet if he should use them more mildly, he had a dreadful Prospect of Danger from them, for there was no likelihood, if they suffered less than Death, they would be reconciled to him, but rather adding new Rage to their former Wickedness, break forth into all manner of Insolence, whilst He Himself should gain thereby the Repute of a cowardly and timorous Person, upon other Accounts not thought over-valiant by the Vulgar. Whilst *Cicero* was doubting what Course to take in these matters, a portentous Accident happened amongst the Women as they were Sacrificing in his House; for on the Altar where the Fire seemed wholly extinguished, a great and bright Flame issued forth from the Ashes of the burnt Wood, at which Others were afrighted; but the holy Virgins called to *Terentia*, *Cicero's* Wife, and bid her haste to her Husband, and command him to execute what he had resolved for the Good of his Country; for the Goddess had assured him that he should effect what he had designed, not only with great Safety, but with much Honour

and

and Glory. *Terentia* therefore, as she was otherwise in her own Nature neither pitiful nor timorous, but an ambitious Woman, (who, as *Cicero* himself saith, would rather thrust her self into His Publick Affairs, than communicate her Domestick to Him) told him these things, and incensed him against the Conspirators; the Same did also *Quintus* his Brother, and *Publius Nigridius*, one of his Companions in Philosophy, whom he often made use of in his greatest and most weighty Affairs of State.

The next Day, a Debate arising in the Senate about the Punishment of these Men, *Silanus* being the first who was asked his Opinion, said, *It was fit they should be all sent to Prison, and there suffer the utmost Penalty*; to Him All consented in order 'till it came to *Caius Caesar*, who was afterwards Dictator. He was then very young, and was just beginning to lay the Foundations of his future Advancement, directing all his Hopes and Politicks to those Ends, by which he afterwards introduced a thorough Change in the Government. His Views and Designs were then known to Few. *Cicero* was the only Person who suspected him, but he took Care to act so cautiously, as never to give him Proof sufficient to convict him, tho' Many affirm he was within a Hair's Breadth, and that he escaped very narrowly. Others were of Opinion that *Cicero* voluntarily overlooked and neglected the Evidence against him, for fear of his Friends and Power; for it was very evident to every Body, that these would be rather a Means of *Caesar's* Escape, than *Caesar's* Guilt an occasion of their Punishment: When therefore it came to *Caesar's* Turn to give his Opinion, he stood up, and declared, that *He was not for having the Conspirators put to Death. His Opinion was that their Estates should*

should be confiscated, (1) and their Persons confined to such Prisons as should be appointed by the Consul, 'till Catiline was entirely defeated. To this Sentence, being the most moderate, and He that deliver'd it a most powerful Speaker, Cicero Himself gave no small weight; for he stood up, and declared, that the first Part of Silanus's Advice, and the latter of Caesar's ought to be followed. And all the Consul's Friends judging he would be less exposed to Resentment and Calumny if the Conspirators were not put to Death, adhered to Caesar; insomuch that Silanus himself retracted his Opinion, and explained himself by saying, that by the utmost Penalty he did not mean Death but Imprisonment, which was the highest Punishment that could be inflicted on a Senator. Caesar having given His Sentence, Catulus Lutatius was the first who contradicted it; Him Cato seconded, and in his Oration cast such a vehement Suspicion upon Caesar, and so filled the Senate with Anger and Resolution, that a Decree was passed for the Execution of the Conspirators; but Caesar opposed the Confiscation of their Goods, maintaining, that it was not fit that They who had rejected the mildest part of his Sentence, should make use of the severest. When he perceived that he was herein op-

(1) Caesar therefore was for having them tried after the Defeat of Catiline, but Plutarch was mistaken in this Part of the Account, as has been observed by Ruaidus. According to Salust, whose Authority must be greater than That of Plutarch, since He was present at the Debate. Caesar gave it as his Opinion, That they ought to be dispersed through the several Towns in Italy, and there detained in perpetual Imprisonment, without ever allowing their Case to be brought

before the Senate, or the People, and that whoever should do otherwise, the Senate should declare he acted contrary to the Interest of the State, and the Safety of the Citizens. And that This was Caesar's Opinion is sufficiently proved by Cicero's fourth Oration against Catiline, which he pronounced that very day. Plutarch relates only the Conclusion of Caesar's Opinion, which he delivered in a long discourse, preserved entire by Salust.

posed

posed
to th
fere,
Part
Head
Priso
confi
Præ
went
Houl
long
He v
who
Peop
bling
youn
Fear
in so
thori
W
the
and
cted
ter
in th
sever
toge
but
and
ed o
live;
unlu
nify
retu
Citi
in C
clam
Seco

posed by the Majority of the Senate he appealed to the Tribunes, but when they refused to interfere, *Cicero* Himself acquiesced, and remitted that Part of the Sentence. After This *Cicero* went at the Head of the Senate to the several Places where the Prisoners were detained; for they were not All confined in one Prison, but lay dispersed, every Prætor having One of them in his Custody. He went first to *Lentulus*, because He was confined in a House on Mount *Palatine*, and conducting him along the Holy Way, carried him cross the *Forum*. He was attended by the principal Men in the City, who served as his Body Guard, and a Crowd of People who followed in profound Silence, trembling with Horror at what was executing. The young Men especially regarded this Ceremony with Fear and Surprize, as if they were to be initiated in some sacred Mysteries of Government by the Authority of the Senate for the Safety of their Country.

When he had crossed the *Forum*, and was come to the Prison, he delivered *Lentulus* to the Officer, and commanded him to Execute him. He conducted *Cethegus* thither in the same manner, and after Him the rest, causing them all to be executed in the Prison. In his Return from thence he saw several of their Accomplices in the *Forum* standing together in Companies, ignorant of what was done, but expecting Night, as if the Men were still alive, and in a possibility of being rescued; but he called out to them in a loud Voice, and said, *They did live*; an Expression which the *Romans*, to avoid unlucky inauspicious Words, make use of to signify *They are dead*. It was now Evening when he returned from the *Forum* to his own House, the Citizens no longer attending him with Silence, or in Order, but receiving him as he passed, with Acclamations and Applauses, saluted him, *Saviour and Second Founder of his Country*.

(1) A bright Light shone through the Streets from the Lamps and Torches set up at the Doors, and the Women illuminated the Tops of their Houses, to honour *Cicero*, and behold him returning home with a splendid Train of the most principal Citizens; amongst whom were several who had managed great Wars, obtained Triumphs, and added to the Possessions of the *Roman* Empire, both at Sea and Land. These, as they passed along with him, acknowledged to one another, that though the *Roman* People were indebted to several Officers and Commanders of that Age, for Riches, Spoils, and Power; yet to *Cicero* alone they owed the Safety and Security of all These, for delivering them from so great and imminent a Danger; for though it might seem no wonderful thing to prevent the Design, and punish the Conspirators, yet to defeat the greatest of all Conspiracies with so little Damage, Trouble and Commotion, was very extraordinary; for Many of those who had run in to *Catiline*, as soon as they heard the Fate of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, left and forsook him, and He Himself with his remaining Forces joining Batel with *Antonius*, was destroyed with his whole Army.

And yet there were Some who were very ready both to speak and do Ill to *Cicero* for these things, and they had for their Leaders some of the Magistrates of the ensuing Year, as *Cæsar* one of the Prætors, and *Metellus* and *Bestia* the Tribunes; these entering upon their Office some few Days before *Cicero*'s Consulate expired, would not permit him to

(1) On any extraordinary Occasion, it was a Custom to have lighted Flambeaus in all their Streets and to illuminate them. This was taken from the Celebration of the Mysteries, at which they used an infinite Number of Lights, because

they were celebrated in the Night-time. For this Reason these illuminations were deemed very honourable, because they considered them as an act of Religion; and on this Account it was that *Plutarch* added, to honour *Cicero*.

make

(1)
Entrat
themse
fence
named
Laws;
the Ex
they h
to the
V

make his Oration to the People; but throwing the Forms before the *Rostra*, hindered his speaking, commanding him, if he pleased, only to abjure his Office, and descend. *Cicero* accepted of the Condition, and prepared in Appearance (1) to take the usual Oath. When he found the whole Court in a profound Silence he took his Oath, not the customary one, but an Oath new and unusual, and such a One as He only was qualified to take, for he swore *that he had saved his Country, and preserved the Government*, and all the People took the very same Oath after him.

Cesar and the Tribunes being the more exasperated by these things, endeavoured to create him further trouble, and therefore a Law was proposed for the calling *Pompey* home with his Army to suppress the Insolence of *Cicero*; but it was a very lucky thing to *Cicero*, and the whole Common-wealth, that *Cato* was at that time one of the Tribunes, for He being of an equal Power with the rest, and of greater esteem, opposing their Designs, both easily defeated all other Projects, and in an Oration to the People so highly extolled *Cicero's* Consulship, that the greatest Honours were decreed him, and He publicly declared *the Father of his Country*, (2) which Title he then first obtained, when *Cato* so styled him in his Oration to the People.

At this time therefore his Authority was very great in the City; but he created himself much Envy, and offended very many, not by any evil

(1) As the Consuls, upon their Entrance into their Office, obliged themselves by Oath in the Presence of the Consul who had named them, to observe the Laws; they swore likewise at the Expiration of their Office, that they had done nothing contrary to those Laws, but had made

them the Rule of their Actions.

(2) *Q. Catulus*, Prince of the Senate, was the First who gave him that Title in full Senate, where many others followed his Example; but *Cato*, as Tribune, gave it him in an Assembly of the People.

Action, but because he was always praising and magnifying Himself; for neither Senate, nor Assembly of the People, nor Court of Judicature could meet, in which he was not heard to boast of *Catiline* and *Lentulus*; besides, he so filled his Books and Writings with his own *Encomiums*, that he render'd a style, in it self most pleasant and delightful, nauseous and irksome to his Readers; this ungrateful Humour, like a Disease, always cleaving to him: (1) Nevertheless, tho' he was intemperately fond of his own Praise, yet he was very free from envying Others, and most liberally profuse in commending both the Ancients and his Contemporaries, as is to be understood by his Writings; and many of those Sayings are still recorded, as That concerning *Aristotle*, that he was a River of flowing Gold; of *Plato's* Dialogues, that if *Jupiter* were to speak, he would discourse as He did; *Theophrastes* he was wont to call his peculiar Delight, and being asked which of *Demosthenes's* Orations he liked best, he answered the longest.

And yet some affected Imitators of *Demosthenes*, have complained of a Passage in one of *Cicero's* familiar Epistles, wherein he saith, (2) that *Demosthenes* sometimes nodded in his Orations; but they are forgetful of the many and singular *Encomiums*

(1) This is very extraordinary; for, generally speaking, They who are so puffed up with Vanity, and trumpet out their own Praises upon all Occasions, despise every one else but Themselves. It would have been better if *Cicero* had been more sparing in his own Commendations. But it is an excusable Fault in Him, for he challenged nothing to Himself, but what the whole World had given him before. Whereas it is common with Men of Pride and Vanity to arro-

gate to Themselves *Encomiums*, which in the Opinion of all Mankind do in no wise belong to them.

(2) I cannot find the Passage containing this Reproach in any of his Epistles. But *Demosthenes* was no more injured hereby, than was *Homer* by *Horace*, when he said that he had just reason to be deeply concerned whenever he found that Poet nodding. What Writer is there of them all that never nodded?

he

he frequently gives him, and the Honour he did him, when he named the most Elaborate of all his Orations, Those he wrote against *Antony, Philippicks*.

And as for the Eminent Men of his own Time, either for Eloquence or Philosophy; there was not One of them whom he did not, by Writing or Speaking in honour of them, render more illustrious. He obtained of *Cæsar* when in Power, the Roman Freedom for *Cratippus* the Peripatetick, and got the Court of *Areopagus* by publick Decree to request his Stay at *Athens* for the Instruction of their Youth, and as the Ornament of their City. There are Epistles extant from *Cicero* to *Herodes*, and Others to his Son, in which he requires them to follow the Philosophy of *Cratippus*. We have Another of his Letters, wherein he blames *Gorgias* the Rhetorician for seducing his Son to Luxury and Drinking, and therefore forbids him his Company; which Letter, with Another to *Pelops* the *Byzantine*, are the only Two of his Greek Epistles, which seem to be written in Anger. In the First he justly reflects on *Gorgias*, if he were what he was thought to be, a dissolute and incorrigible Person; but in the Other, he meanly expostulates and complains with *Pelops*, for neglecting to procure him a Decree of certain Honours from the *Byzantines*; but these things are to be charged upon his Ambition, and the warmth and vehemency of his Speaking, which often made him neglect *Decorum*.

When *Numatius*, who had escaped Judgment by *Cicero's* Defence, prosecuted his Friend *Sabinus*, it is said that *Cicero* fell so foul upon him in his Anger, that he told him: *Numatius, thou wert not acquitted for thy own sake, but because I so overshadowed the Light, that the Court could not perceive thy Guilt*: When from the *Rostra* he had made *Encomiums* of *Crassus* with good Applause, and with-

in a few Days after had again as publickly reproach-
ed him, *Crassus* called to him and said, *Didst not
Thou thy self in this Place lately commend me? No, said
Cicero, I only exercised my Talent in declaiming upon a
bad Subject.* At another time *Crassus* said, *that none
of the Crassi lived above threescore Years,* but after-
wards affirming the quite contrary, and saying,
What was in my Head when I said so? *Cicero* replied,
(1) *Thou knowest the Romans were glad to hear it, and
therefore thou saidst it to wheedle the People.* When
Crassus said, that he was pleased with the Stoicks,
because they assert, *that the good Man is always
rich; Nay, rather,* said he, (2) *because they affirm all
Things belong to the Wise;* for *Crassus's* Covetous-
ness was very notorious. One of *Crassus's* Sons was
generally thought very like a certain Person called
Axius, and indeed so like, that his Mother was
shrewdly suspected on his Account: This Youth
one Day made an Oration with good Applause in
the Senate; *Cicero* being asked what he thought of
him, answered in a Greek Clinch, *Ἀξίον Κρατῶσα.*
Crassus being to go into Syria, resolved to leave *Ci-
cero* rather his Friend than his Enemy, and there-
fore one Day kindly saluting him, told him *he
would come and sup with him,* which the Other as
courteously received. Within a few Days after,
some of *Cicero's* Acquaintance, interceding for *Va-
tinius*, told him *he was impatient to be reconciled to
him, and be restored to his Friendship,* for they had been
at Variance; *What,* said he, *and will Vatinius like-
wise come and sup with me?* Thus he used *Crassus.*

Vatinius had a Scrophulous Humour, which rais-
ed Swellings in his Neck. One Day as he was

(1) As if the People desired no-
thing so much as to be quit of that
Family, or of Him in particular.

(2) By this he means that *Crassus*
could not be satisfied with being

rich, unless he was Master of All.
This Answer is founded upon an
Axiom of the Stoicks, *that every
thing belongs to the Wise, the Wise
is every thing.*

pleading

pleading very floridly, *See*, said *Cicero*, *what a Swollen Orator we have!* A little while after *Cicero* heard that *Vatinius* was dead, but it proving to be a false Report, *May Death*, said he, *be His Lot, who invented That of Vatinius.*

When *Cæsar* attempted a Law for the Division of the Lands in *Campania* amongst the Soldiers, Many in the Senate opposed it, amongst the rest *Lucius Gellius*, one of the oldest Men in the House, was more outrageous against it than Any, and said, it should never pass whilst He lived: *Let us defer it 'till then*, said *Cicero*, *for Gellius does not require a long Day.* There was then at *Rome* a Person called *Octavius*, who was reproached for being an *African*: One Day as *Cicero* was pleading, it came in this Man's Head to say he could not hear him: *That is strange*, said *Cicero*, (1) *for thy Ear is bored.* When *Metellus Nepos* told him, *that he had destroyed more as an Evidence, than he had saved as an Advocate; I confess it*, said *Cicero*, *for I have much more Truth than Eloquence.* To a young Man accused of giving a poisoned Cake to his Father, and confidently threatening that he would bespatter *Cicero* with his Reproaches, he said, *I had much rather have Those than your Cake.* *Publius Sestus* having, amongst Others, retained *Cicero* as his Advocate in a certain Cause, and yet desirous to talk all for Himself, and allow no body to speak for him, when he

(1) This is a Confirmation of the Reproach he lay under of being an *African*, and accuseth him moreover of having been a Slave, for in those Countries they bored a Hole thro' the Ears of their Slaves as a Token of their Subjection. This Custom was derived to the Heathen from the *Jews*, to whom God had enjoined it with respect to Those who were always to remain in Servitude. *Deut. xv. 17.*

Then thou shalt take an Awl, and thrust it through his Ear unto the Door, and he shall be thy Servant for ever: and also unto thy Maid-Servant thou shalt do likewise. And to this Custom *David* alludeth, when he saith in the fortieth Psalm, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine Ears hast thou opened, that is, thou hast made Me thy Servant to all Eternity.*

was ready to be acquitted by the Judges, and the Ballets were passing, *Cicero* called to him, and said, *Sestus, make the best Use of thy Time To-day, for To-morrow thou wilt be but a private Person.* There was one *Publius Cotta*, who affected to pass upon the World for a great Lawyer, tho' he was very ignorant, and unlearned: *Cicero* had Occasion to make use of his Testimony in some Cause wherein he was concerned, and when *Cotta* declared *that he knew nothing of what they asked him; Perhaps thou thinkest,* said *Cicero, that we are questioning thee about a Point in Law.*

Metellus Nepos, in some Dispute betwixt Him and *Cicero*, often asked him, *who is thy Father, Cicero?* to which he replied, *Thy Mother has made it more difficult for Thee to answer that Question than Me.* For the Mother of *Metellus* was not a Woman of the best Reputation. This *Metellus* was a Man of a very unsettled Temper, for whilst he was Tribune of the People he quitted the Office very abruptly, and fled to *Pompey* in *Syria*, and as soon as he got thither he more abruptly returned back to *Rome*. When his Preceptor *Philager* died, he caused him to be buried with much Pomp, (1) and placed a Crow in Marble over his Monument: *In This*, said *Cicero, thou hast done wisely, for thy Tutor has taught thee how to fly, better than to speak.*

When *Marcus Appius*, in his Preamble to a Plea, had said, *that his Friend had desired him to employ all his Industry, Eloquence, and Fidelity in that Cause;* *Cicero* answered, *Then thou hast been very hard to thy Friend, in not performing one of those Things he has desired of thee. To use this bitter Raillery against Op-*

(1) It was customary to place over the Monuments of the Dead, either some Instrument to denote the Occupation of the Deceased, or the Figure of some Animal to denote their Genius and Disposition. And sometimes these Figures were placed purely for Ornament sake, and by way of Distinction, as it happened in this Case.

positives and Antagonists in pleading seems allowable Rhetorick at a Bar; but to fall upon every Body, only to move Laughter, This created him great Hatred: A few of which Passages I shall relate. *Marcus Aquilius* had two Sons-in-Law, who were Both in Exile, whereupon *Cicero* called him (1) *Adraustus*: *Lucius Colla*, an intemperate Lover of Wine, was Censor when *Cicero* pretended to the Consulship; *Cicero* being dry at the Election, his Friends stood round about him whilst he was drinking, *You have Reason to be afraid*, says *Cicero*, *lest the Censor should be angry that I drink Water*. Meeting *Vocinius* one Day with his three very ugly Daughters, he cry'd out,

(2) *This Man has sown his Seed,
Without Apollo's Leave or Aid.*

When *Marcus Gellius*, who was reputed the Son of a Slave, had read several Letters in the Senate, with a very shrill and loud Voice, *Do not wonder at it*, said *Cicero*, *for he comes of Those who have been publick Criers*. When *Faustus Sylla*, the Son of *Sylla* the Dictator, who had during his Dictatorship by publick Bills proscribed and condemned several Citizens, had so far wasted his Estate, and got into Debt, that he was forced to publish his Bills of Sale, *Cicero* told him, *That he liked these Bills much better than his Father's*. By these things he became very odious to Many: And this encouraged *Clodius* and his Faction to form their Schemes against him, upon the following Occasion.

Clodius was of a Noble Family, in the Flower of his Youth, and of a bold and resolute Humour;

(1) It is a known Story, that *Adraustus* King of *Argus* had married his two Daughters to two fugitive Princes, *Tydeus* and *Poly-*

nices.

(2) This is taken from a Verse in *Sophocles*, and is spoken of *Laius* the Father of *Oedipus*.

D d 4

Being

Being desperately in Love with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, he got privately into his House in the Habit and Dress of a Minstrel, whilst the Women were offering that Sacrifice in *Cæsar's* House, which is neither to be heard nor seen by Men, and where no Man is suffered to be present; but *Clodius*, who was then too young to have a Beard, hoped to get to *Pompeia* among the Women without being taken Notice of, but entering that great House by Night he was lost in the Passages, where *Aurelia*, one of *Cæsar's* Mother's Women, spying him wandering up and down, inquired his Name; thus being necessitated to speak, he told her he was seeking for one of *Pompeia's* Maids, by Name *Aura*; she perceiving it not to be a Woman's Voice shrieked out, and called in the Women, who presently shutting up the Gates, and searching every Place, at length found *Clodius* in the Chamber of that Maid with whom he came in: This Matter being noised abroad, *Cæsar* put away his Wife *Pompeia*, and *Clodius* was prosecuted for profaning the holy Rites.

Cicero was at this Time his particular Friend, for he had been useful to him in the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, as one of his most forward Assistants and Body Guards.

Clodius putting the Stress of his Defence upon this Point, *that he was not then at Rome, but afar off in the Country*, *Cicero* testified that he came to his House that very Day, and discoursed with him upon several Matters; which thing was indeed true, although *Cicero* was thought to testify it, not so much for the Truth's sake, as to preserve his Quiet with *Terentia* his Wife, for she hated *Clodius* mortally upon the Score of his Sister *Clodia*. She knew *Clodia* had it in her Head to marry *Cicero*, and managed the Design by one *Tullus*, a Friend and Intimate of *Cicero's* in his greatest Affairs: And *Cicero* himself,

himself, by frequently visiting and paying his Court to *Clodia* as a Neighbour, had given *Terentia* Ground to suspect him. Besides, *Terentia* was naturally a Woman of a crabbed over-bearing Temper, and had moreover an Ascendant over her Husband, so that she spirited him up against *Clodius*, and forced him to testify against him. A great number of Persons of the best Credit and Reputation in the City appeared likewise against him, charging him with Perjury, Forgery, Corruption, and the seducing and deflowering of Women.

Lucullus proved, by Two of his Maid-Servants, that he had lain with his youngest Sister, when she was His Wife; and it was publicly reported, that he had conversed with his two other Sisters in the same criminal Manner. One of These was *Terentia*, whom *Martius Rex*, and the Other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had married. The Last of these was called *Quadrantula*, because one of her Lovers had deceived her with a Purse of small Brass Money instead of Silver, the smallest Brass Coin being called a *Quadrant*. Upon this Sister's Account *Clodius* was principally defamed. Notwithstanding all This, when the common People appeared in Tumults against the Accusers and Prosecutors of *Clodius*, the Judges were so affrighted, that a Guard was placed about them for their Defence, and many of them gave in their Opinions (1) upon Scrolls, wherein the Letters were jumbled and confounded; Not-

(1) This Passage has undoubtedly been corrupted. It was a very trifling and ridiculous Thing to give their Opinion or Sentence in a Writing, where the Letters were purposely confused and jumbled together, to the end they might not be decyphered without some Difficulty. I know of no Instance where Judges, when they declare their Opinion in Writing, ever had recourse to such an Ex-

pedient. *Plutarch* speaking of this Acquittal of *Clodius* in the Life of *Caesar*, tells us, that the Judges gave their Opinions in a Lump upon several different Articles at the same time, συσχευμένας τοῖς περὶ γράσι τὰς γνώμας, and so I believe it ought to be read in this Place. I have given some Explication of This in the Life of *Caesar*, Vol. VI. Pag. 134.

with-

withstanding which he was absolved by a Majority, who lay under a Suspicion of Bribery. For this Reason *Catulus* meeting the Judges as they were coming out of Court, told them, *You did well in requiring a Guard for your Safety, for fear your Money should have been taken from you;* and when *Clodius* upbraided *Cicero*, that the Judges did not believe His Testimony; *Yes*, said he, *five and twenty of them believed Me, for so many of them have condemned You; but the other Thirty refused to believe You, for they would not absolve you 'till they had received your Money.* As for *Cæsar*, tho' he was cited to give in his Testimony, yet he refused to be an Evidence against *Clodius*, and without charging his Wife with Adultery he put her away, because he said, *it was fit that Cæsar's Bed should not be only free of the evil Fact, but of the Fame too.*

Clodius having escaped this Danger, and got to be chosen one of the Tribunes of the People, immediately attacked *Cicero*, heaping up all Matters, and inciting all Persons against him. The common People he wheedled with Popular Laws; to each of the Consuls he decreed large Provinces, to *Piso* *Macedonia*, and to *Gabinus* *Syria*: He mustered together a Rabble of indigent Persons to serve his Design, and had always armed Slaves about him; of the three Men then in greatest Power, *Crassus* was *Cicero's* open Enemy, *Pompey* indifferently caressed Both, and *Cæsar* was going with an Army into *Gaul*.

Cicero applies himself to Him, tho' he knew he was none of his firm Friends, but that on the contrary he had looked on him with an evil Eye ever since the Conspiracy of *Catiline*; notwithstanding which (1) he desired of him the Honour of being
his

(1) *Plutarch* is mistaken here. | him with him in Quality of Lieu-
Cicero did not desire *Cæsar* to take | tenant into *Gaul*, it was *Cæsar*,
who

his Lieutenant. *Cæsar* accepted the Proposal with great Joy, and *Clodius* perceiving that this was a way for him to be out of his Reach during the Year of his Tribuneship, pretended to be inclinable to a Reconcilement, laying all the Blame upon *Terentia*, as the sole Cause of *Cicero's* Animosity towards him, speaking at the same time very honourably of Him; and if at any time a hard Expression dropt from him, when he mentioned him, it was such as became one Friend when he was complaining of, or expostulating with Another. By this Behaviour he so wrought upon *Cicero*, that he thought himself secure, and returning his Commission to *Cæsar*, he betook himself again to the Affairs of the Publick. *Cæsar* being exasperated at this Proceeding animated *Clodius* against him, and made *Pompey* cool and indifferent towards him. At the same time he declared in a Publick Assembly of the People, that *Cicero* had broke through the Rules of Probity and Justice, and violated all the Laws both human and divine, in putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to Death, without any legal Proceedings against them.

And This indeed was the Crime charged upon him, of which *Cicero* standing accused, he changed his Habit, and in a sordid and untrimmed Dress went about and supplicated the People; but *Clodius* always met him in every Corner, having a pack of abusive and daring Fellows about him, who with Insolence publicly derided his Dress and change of Habit, and would often by throwing Dirt and Stones at him interrupt his Supplications to the People. Notwithstanding This, almost the whole Equestrian Order changed their Habits with him,

who offered Him that Employment. This *Cicero* tells us Himself in the eighteenth Letter of his second Book to *Atticus*. A Ca-

sare valde liberaliter invitator in legationem illam, sibi ut sim legatus.

and

and no less than twenty thousand young Gentlemen followed him untrimmed, and supplicating with him to the People on his behalf; afterwards the Senate met to pass a Decree that the People should change their Habit as in time of publick Sorrow: But the Consuls opposing it, and *Clodius* with armed Men besetting the Senate-house, many of the Senators ran out shrieking, and rending their Habits, as in the utmost Consternation.

This lamentable Spectacle had not the least Effect upon *Clodius's* Bravoës, who were equally insensible of Shame and Compassion; for it was determined that either *Cicero* must become a voluntary Exile, or decide it Sword in hand with *Clodius*. In this Extremity he implored the Succour of *Pompey*; but He had withdrawn himself on purpose, and was retired to his Country-seat near Mount *Alba*. *Cicero* at first sent his Son-in-law *Piso* to him, to conjure him to hasten to his Assistance; and at last went Himself. *Pompey* being informed of his Arrival, had not the Face to see him; for he had a great Reverence for that Man, who had contended in so many Quarrels for him, and had directed so much of his Policy for his Advantage; but being *Cæsar's* Son-in-law, at His Instance he overlooked all former Services, and slipping out at a back Door avoided an Interview. Thus being forsaken by *Pompey*, and left alone to himself, he fled to the Consuls. *Gabinus* was always surly to him, but *Piso* treated him more civilly, desiring him to yield and give place for a while to the Fury of *Clodius*, and to expect the Change of Times, and to be once more a Saviour to his Country, which was now flung into new Commotions and Dangers on his Account.

Cicero receiving this Answer, consulted with his Friends: *Lucullus* advised him to stay, as being sure to prevail at last; Others to fly, because the People

ple
have
Cicero
king
set u
Dev
Ded
the
voy
Nig
Luc
it w
proc
Bill
any
him
ceiv
that
him
and
mos
Hipp
Vib
Effe
veyo
not
him
try
tor
Nec
Sici
dire

(1)
Gran
tion.
dition
City
into

ple would soon desire him again, when they should have enough of the Rage and Madness of *Clodius*. *Cicero* approved of this last Expedient, and taking a Statue of *Minerva*, which had been long set up in his House, and worshipped with singular Devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, where he Dedicated it with this Inscription, (1) *To Minerva the Patroness of Rome*. And receiving a safe Convey from his Friends, about the middle of the Night he left the City, and went on foot through *Lucania*, intending to reach *Sicily*. But as soon as it was publicly known that he was fled, *Clodius* procured of the People a Decree of Exile, and by Bill interdicted him Fire and Water, prohibiting any within five hundred Miles of *Italy* to receive him into their Houses. But all Mankind had conceived so high a Reverence and Esteem for *Cicero*, that in spite of this Decree, the People received him with all possible Demonstrations of Friendship and Respect, and accompanied him with the utmost Pomp and Ceremony in his Passage. Only at *Hipponium* a City of *Lucania*, now called *Vibo*, one *Vibius* a *Sicilian* by birth, who amongst many other Effects of *Cicero's* Friendship, had been made Surveyor of the Works when he was Consul, would not indeed receive him into his House, yet sent him word, he would appoint a Place in the Country for his Reception. And *C. Virginus* the Prætor of *Sicily*, who made use of *Cicero* in his greatest Necessities, wrote to him to forbear coming into *Sicily*. *Cicero* provoked at this Ingratitude, went directly to *Brundisium*, where he embarked for

(1) There is a great deal of *Minerva*. When the Wise are Grandeur and Dignity in this Action. Being no longer in a Condition to preserve and defend the City by his Presence, he puts it into the Hands of the Goddess forced to abandon a City, and leave it as a Prey to the Fury of the People, there is no more to be done but to recommend it to divine Providence.

Dyrrachium. At first the Wind was favourable; but by that time he was got out to Sea it turned about, and drove him back to Port. He embarked again the first time the Wind presented, and arrived at *Dyrrachium*. It is reported that at his landing an Earthquake was felt, and that the Waters retired with an unusual Ebb to the Sea-ward, from whence the Soothsayers conjectured his Exile would not be long; for those things were Prognosticks of Change. Whilst he continued at *Dyrrachium* multitudes of People waited on him with great Demonstrations of Esteem and Affection, and all the Cities of Greece contended Who should honour him most; notwithstanding which he continued disheartned and disconsolate, like an unfortunate Lover, often casting a Look back upon *Italy*; and indeed he was become more mortified and dejected by his Misfortunes, than could have been expected from a Man of Letters, and one nurtured in the Schools of Philosophy. However he had often desired his Friends not to call him Orator, but Philosopher, because he had made Philosophy his Business, and had only used Rhetorick as an Instrument of Governing the Common-wealth, when there was Necessity for it.

But the desire of Glory has great power in blotting the Tinctures of Philosophy out of the Souls of Men, and of imprinting the Passions of the Vulgar by Custom and Conversation in the Minds of Those who govern them; unless the Politician be very careful so to ingage in publick Affairs, as to interest himself only in the Affairs Themselves, and not in the Passions that are consequent to them.

Clodius having thus driven away *Cicero*, fell to burning his Villas, and afterwards his City House, and built in the Place of it a Temple to *Liberty*; at the same time he put up his Goods to Auction, of which Proclamation was made daily, but no body came to buy them.

By

By
chie
of t
soler
inve
the
had
him
ting
he c
Clodius
pass
decre
Year
moti
of th
Hall,
dead,
gan t
of th
rage
of th
Cities
and d
summ
it is
nimou
the P
which
and d

(1) T
betran
actions
sulate of
That wh
succeedi
ins Len
Cacilius

By these things he became formidable to the chiefest Citizens, and having got together a Body of the Commonalty, let loose to all manner of insolence and licentiousness, he fell foul upon *Pompey*, inveighing against several things done by Him in the Wars. *Pompey* perceiving the ill Effect This had upon the Minds of the People, began to blame himself for having abandoned *Cicero*, so that uniting his Friends Interests with his Own, he did all he could to get him recalled. At the same time *Clodius* did all he could to oppose it, but the Senate passed a Vote, that no publick Matter should be decreed or acted, 'till *Cicero* was restored: (1) The Year following *Lentulus* being Consul, the Com-motions grew so high upon this Matter, that some of the Tribunes were wounded in the common Hall, and *Quintus*, *Cicero's* Brother, was left as dead, amongst the slain. Upon This the People began to change their Opinion, and *Annius Milo*, one of their Tribunes, was the First who had the Courage to hale *Clodius* by force unto Judgment. Many of the common People and of the neighbouring Cities joining with *Pompey*, he went with them, and drove *Clodius* out of the Common Hall, and summoned in the People to pass their Vote, who it is said never passed any Suffrage more unanimously than This; the Senate also joining with the People, sent Letters of Thanks to those Cities, which had received *Cicero* with respect in his Exile, and decreed, that his (2) House and Villas which
Clodius

(1) Thus this Passage ought to be translated. The preceding Transactions happened under the Consulate of *Gabinus* and *Piso*. And That which followed fell out in the succeeding Year, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther*, and *Q. Lucilius Metellus Nepos* were Con-

suls, in the Year of Rome six hundred ninety six, when *Cicero* was fifty Years of Age.

(2) Forasmuch as the Ground on which *Cicero's* House stood in Rome had been consecrated, the Priests were consulted to know if it might lawfully be restored; they

Clodius had destroyed should be rebuilt at the public Charge.

Thus *Cicero* returned Sixteen Months after his Exile, and the Cities were so glad, and so zealous to meet him, that what *Cicero* boasted of afterwards, viz. *That Italy had brought him on her Shoulders home to Rome*, was rather less than the Truth: And *Craffus* Himself, who had been his Enemy before his Exile, went then voluntarily to meet him, and was reconciled, to please his Son *Publius*, as he said, who was a great Admirer of *Cicero*.

Cicero had not been long at *Rome*, (1) when taking the Opportunity of *Clodius*'s Absence, he went with a great Company to the Capitol, and there tore and defaced the Tribunitian Tables, in which were recorded all the Acts that had passed in the time of *Clodius*: *Clodius* calling him in question for this, *Cicero* answered, *that He being of the Patrician Order, had obtained the Office of Tribune contrary to Law, and therefore nothing was valid that was done by Him*. *Cato* was displeased at this Proceeding, and opposed *Cicero*, not that he commended *Clodius*, but rather disapproved of his whole Administration; yet he contended it was an irregular and violent Course, for the Senate to Vote the abolishing of so many Decrees and Acts, among which also was the Commission for His Government at *Cyprus* and *Byzantium*.

they answered, that the Consecration was an ill thing it self, and that therefore they might very justly restore it.

(1) This happened the Year following, when *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *L. Marcius Philippus* were Consuls, *A. U.* six hundred ninety seven. *Cicero* being then fifty one Years old.

But *Plutarch* omits one considerable Circumstance. He went into the Capitol, and removed the Tables whilst *Clodius* was at *Rome*, and He, and his Brother *Caius*, who was then *Prætor*, came and forced them from him. Then *Cicero* watching when he was absent took them again, and carried them to his own House.

Th
cero,
it ma
After
for th
The S
nent a
sturb
lating
preside
Court
Night
Forum
disturb
his Ca
into th
Judges
was no
dings
shaking
his Ora
the Pr
out-do
Applau
and wa
ver-wa
nist.
when
of his
Camp,
he was
his Spe
fitance

(1) *Ma*
Advocate
and *Cicero*
for him
quence, a
V O R

This occasioned a Breach betwixt *Cato* and *Cicero*, which tho' it came not to open Enmity, yet it made a more reserved Friendship betwixt them. After This *Milo* killed *Clodius*, and being arraigned for the Murther, he chose *Cicero* for his Advocate. The Senate fearing lest the questioning of so eminent and high-spirited a Citizen as *Milo*, might disturb the Peace of the City, committed the regulating of This, and such other Tryals to *Pompey*, to preside for the Security of the City, and of the Courts of Justice. *Pompey* therefore went in the Night, and encompassed the outward part of the *Forum* with Soldiers. *Milo* fearing lest *Cicero* being disturbed by such an unusual Sight should manage his Cause ill, persuaded him to come in his Chair into the *Forum*, and there to repose himself 'till the Judges were set, and the Court filled. For *Cicero* was not only timorous in Arms, but began his Pleadings also with Fear, and scarce left trembling and shaking in some Causes in the height and middle of his Oration. Being to defend *Lucius Murena* against the Prosecution of *Cato*, (1) and endeavouring to out-do *Hortensius*, who had made his Plea with great Applause, he took so little Rest the preceding Night, and was so disorder'd with much Thought and over-watching, that he fell far short of his Antagonist. The Day therefore he was to plead for *Milo*, when he came into Court, and upon getting out of his Chair beheld *Pompey* placed above as in a Camp, and Arms shining round about the *Forum*, he was so confounded, that he could hardly begin his Speech for the trembling of his Body, and hesitance of his Tongue: But *Milo* appeared at the

(1) *Murena* had retained three Advocates, *Hortensius*, *M. Crassus*, and *Cicero*. *Hortensius* had spoke for him first with much Eloquence, and *Cicero* being jealous

of His Reputation took all the Pains he could to surpass him, and so by over-straining he did himself an Injury.

Tryal brisk and confident, disdaining either to let his Hair grow, or to put on the mourning Habit, as was customary on such Occasions; and it is thought that this Confidence of His was the principal Cause of his Condemnation.

And yet *Cicero* in these things was rather thought to be concerned for his Friend, than timorous. He was afterwards made one of those Priests whom the Romans call *Augurs*, in the Room of *Crassus* the younger, dead in *Parthia*; and having by Lot obtained the Province of *Cilicia*, he set sail thither with twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand six hundred Horse; he had orders also to reduce *Capadocia* to the Obedience of *Artobarzanes* their King, which Settlement he effected with great Acceptance without Arms; and perceiving the *Cilicians*, by the great Loss the Romans had suffered in *Parthia*, and the Commotions in *Syria*, grown insolent; he reduced them into good Temper, by a gentle Government. He received no Presents, tho' sent him by Kings: He remitted to the Province the charge of Publick Suppers: but entertained daily at his own House the ingenious and accomplished Men of the better Quality, not Sump- tuously, but Liberally. His House had no Porter, nor was he seen in Bed by any Man; but early in the Morning standing or walking before his Door, he courteously received Those who visited him.

He never commanded any to be beaten with Rods, (1) nor to have their Garments rent: He never gave contumelious Language in his Anger, nor inflicted Punishment with Reproach. When

(1) Which sort of Insult was esteemed very ignominious, but was of great Antiquity; for we find it in use among the *Ammonites*, in the days of *David*. Wherefore *Hanun* took *David's* Servants, and shaved off the one half of their Beards, and cut off their Garments in the middle, even to their Buttocks, and sent them away. 2 Sam. cap. x. ver. 4.

he found any of the Publick Monies purloined, he enriched the Cities with it; and Those who voluntarily made Restitution, without any further Punishment, he preserved entire in their Reputation. (1) He made a little Effort of War, and drove out the Thieves which infested Mount *Amanus*, for which he was saluted by his Army *Imperator*. (2) To *Cælius* the Orator, who desired him to send him some Panthers from *Cilicia*, to be exposed in a Shew he was to exhibit at *Rome*, *Cicero*, to magnify his Actions, wrote in Answer, *that there were no Panthers in Cilicia, for they were all fled to Caria in Anger, that in so general a Peace They should be left the only Subjects of his Arms.*

In his Return from his Province, he touched first at *Rhodes*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he made an agreeable Stay, and was visited by all Those who were most celebrated for their Learning and Knowledge, and renewed his Acquaintance with his old Friends and Fellow-Students. From thence, after having been highly honoured by them, and received the strongest Tokens of Friendship and Esteem, which *Greece* could manifest for him, he

(1) *Plutarch* treats this Action in too slight a manner; for he did more than barely clear the Country of the Thieves who infested it; he was not only saluted *Imperator*, but they ordained Publick Prayers at *Rome* for his Success, and were upon the Point of decreeing him a Triumph.

(2) *M. Calius Rufus* was at that time *Edile*, and wanted those Panthers for the Shews he was to prepare in virtue of his Office. *Cicero* returned him the following answer, in the Letter he wrote to him on that Occasion. *Epist. ii. b. ii. De Pantheris, per eos qui venari solent agitur mandato meo*

diligenter, sed mira Paucitas est: eas qua sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea Provincia, nisi sibi fiat, &c. As for the Panthers, They who make it their Business to hunt them are now very busy at the Sport, in obedience to my Orders. But there is a great Scarcity of them, and the Few we have, I hear, complain grievously that They are the only living Creatures throughout all my Province that have Snares laid for them, for which reason they have resolved to retire out of my Government, and remove into Caria, &c.

returned to *Rome*, where he found every thing in a ferment, and the State swoln with Sedition, which must necessarily end in a Civil War. When the Senate would have decreed him a Triumph, he told them, *he had rather, so Differences were accommodated, follow the Triumphant Chariot of Cæsar.* In private he gave Advice to Both, writing many things to *Cæsar*, and entreating several of *Pompey*; mollifying, persuading, and exhorting each of them: But when Matters became incurable, and *Cæsar* was approaching *Rome*, *Pompey* durst not abide it, but with many honest Citizens left the City: *Cicero* avoided the Flight, and seemed to adhere to *Cæsar*, tho' it is very evident he was in his Thoughts much divided, and wavered betwixt both; for thus he writes in his Epistles: *To which side should I turn? (1) Pompey's Cause is more just and honourable, but Cæsar has managed his Affairs better, and is more able to secure himself and his Friends; so that I know Whom I should fly, but not Whom I should fly to.* But when *Trebatius*, one of *Cæsar's* Friends, by Letter signified to him, that *Cæsar* thought it was his Interest to secure himself on His side, and to be Partaker of His Hopes; but if his Age would not permit it he might retire into *Greece*, and there abide and enjoy his Quiet,

(1) If That was the Case there was no room left for Deliberation. That Cause which is just and honourable ought to be preferred, though it be attended with the greatest Danger. How doth This agree with that heroick Expression of *Cicero*, that he had rather be overcome with *Pompey*, than conquer with *Cæsar*? He had not forgot it, but his Fear put him upon a wrong Distinction to get out of the Scrape. For thus he writes to *Atticus*, who had commended that Saying in him. *Quod tu*

meum laudas, & memorandum ducis, malle quod dixerim me cum Pompeio vinci, quam cum istis vincere. Ego vero malo, sed cum illo Pompeio qui tum erat, aut qui mihi esse videbatur. Cum hoc vero qui ante fugit quam scit aut quem fugiat, aut quo, qui nostram tradidit, qui Patriam reliquit. Italiam relinquit, si malui; contigit; victus sum. Ad Att. Epist. vii. Lib. viii. This is a poor Evasion. The Errors of a General who has a good Cause on his side, cannot justify any one for abandoning him.

remote

remo
ted a
sweet
worth
Gover
as so
medi
was v
ved l
For n
honest
monu
You n
Count
govern
cessity
parta
Th
timen
no us
tance
That
fessin
ded
and n
ridicu
while
walk
with
at eve
Other
or no
it ma
Jests.
who
that
plied,

remote from either Party; Cicero being affronted at *Cæsar* for not writing to him Himself, answered in Anger, *that he would do nothing now unworthy of his former Conduct and Behaviour in the Government.* This is what we find in his Epistles. But as soon as *Cæsar* was gone into Spain, he immediately took Shipping to go to *Pompey*; and was very acceptable to All but *Cato*, who reproved him in private for joining himself to *Pompey*: For my self, said he, *it would not have been just or honest for Me to have forsaken that part of the Commonwealth which I espoused from the Beginning; but You might have been more useful to your Friends and Country, if remaining Neuter, You had attended and governed the Event, and not without Reason or Necessity have made your self an Enemy to Cæsar, and partake in these Dangers where you have no Call.*

This Discourse caused Cicero to change his Sentiments, especially when he found *Pompey* made no use of him in any thing of Moment and Importance. It is true, no body was to be blamed for That but Himself, for he made no scruple of professing that he repented of his coming, and derided *Pompey's* Preparations, blaming his Counsels, and not sparing his Associates, but scoffing at, and ridiculing them upon all Occasions. All this while he was uneasy in his own Mind, and would walk whole Days together up and down the Camp with a sorrowful dejected Countenance; and yet at every turn he would have his Jest, which set Others a laughing, tho' they found they had little or no reason to be disposed to Mirth. And here it may not be amiss to relate some few of those Jest. To *Demetrius*, preferring one to a Command who was no Soldier, and saying in his Defence, that he was a Modest and Prudent Person; he replied, *Why did not you keep him then for a Tutor to*

your Children? Some commending *Theophanes* the Lesbian, who was Master of the Works in the Camp, for that he had excellently comforted the *Rhodians* after the Loss of their Fleet: (1) *What a Benefit is it*, said he, *to have an Officer a Grecian!* When *Cæsar* had done many things successfully, and in a manner besieged *Pompey*, *Lentulus* was saying, it was reported that *Cæsar's* Friends were melancholy: *You mean*, says *Cicero*, *they are wishing ill to Cæsar*. To one *Marcus*, newly come from *Italy*, and telling them, that there was a strong Report at *Rome*, that *Pompey* was blocked up; he said, (2) *And therefore you sailed hither on purpose to know the Truth of it, and believe your own Eyes*. To *Nonius*, encouraging them after a Defeat to be of good hope, because there were seven Eagles still left in *Pompey's* Camp: *You encourage well*, said *Cicero*, *if we were to fight with Jackdaws*. *Labienus* demonstrating from Divination that *Pompey* was to be Conqueror: *Yes*, said *Cicero*, (3) *and by trusting to this Stratagem, we have already lost our Camp*.

After the Battel of *Pharsalia* was over (at which he was not present, for want of Health) and *Pompey* was fled, *Cato* having considerable Forces, and a great Fleet at *Dyrrachium*, would have had *Cicero* Commander in Chief, according to Law, and the Precedence of his Consular Dignity. But *Cicero* refusing the Command, and wholly avoiding

(1) This Saying carries with it a smart piece of Rallery. *Cicero* signifies by it that this *Theophanes* a Grecian, and consequently born in the Country of Philosophy, was fitter to administer Comfort upon any Calamity by his Discourse, than to procure Success to their Arms by his Courage.

(2) *Marcus*, to flatter *Pompey*,

would have it understood that that Report was false, and *Cicero* confirms it by this ambiguous diverting Answer.

(3) He calls those pretended Divinations, or Prophecies, *Stratagems*, implying that they were contrived and forged to keep up the Spirit of the Army.

to join with their Arms, was very near being slain; young *Pompey* and his Friends calling him Traitor, and drawing their Swords upon him, had slain him, had not *Cato* interposed, and with much Difficulty rescued and brought him out of the Camp.

Afterwards arriving at *Brundisium*, he tarried there some time, in expectation of *Cæsar*, who lingered because of his Affairs in *Asia* and *Ægypt*; and when it was told him, that he was arrived at *Tarentum*, and was coming thence by Land to *Brundisium*, he hastened towards him, not altogether without Hope, and yet in some Fear of making experiment of the Temper of an Enemy, and Conqueror, in a publick Presence. But there was no Necessity for him, either to speak or do any thing unworthy of himself; for *Cæsar*, as soon as he saw him coming a good way before the rest of the Company to meet him, quitted his Horse, ran up to him, and saluted him; and leading the way, discoursed with him alone for many Furlongs; and from that time forward continued to treat him with Honour and Respect: So that when *Cicero* wrote a small Treatise in praise of *Cato*, *Cæsar* writing against it, took occasion to commend not only the Eloquence but the Life of *Cicero*, as most exactly resembling That of *Pericles* and *Theramenes*. *Cicero's* Oration was called *Cato*, *Cæsar's*, *Anti-Cato*.

It is reported, that when *Quintus Ligarius* was prosecuted for having been one in Arms against *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* had undertaken his Defence, *Cæsar* said to his Friends, *What should hinder us from hearing Cicero, it being so long since we heard him last? But as for his Client, he already stands condemned in my Judgment.* But when *Cicero* began to speak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in his Speech with that Variety of *Pathos*, and that admirable Grace, that the Colour

of *Cæsar's* Countenance often changed; and it was very evident, that all the Passions of his Soul were in Commotion. At length the Orator touching upon the *Pharsalian* Battel, he was so transported, that his Body trembled, and some of the Papers he held dropped out of his Hands; and thus being over-powered by the Force of his Eloquence he acquitted *Ligarius*, tho' he had before resolved to condemn him.

After This, the Commonwealth being changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* withdrew himself from publick Affairs, and employed his Leisure in instructing such young Men as desired it, in Philosophy; and by their Conversation and Acquaintance, They being of the noblest and best Quality in the City, he again raised himself up to great Power and Authority. But his chief Business was to compose and translate Philosophical Dialogues; and to render Logical and Physical Terms into the *Roman* Idiom: For he it was, as it is said, who first gave *Latin* Names to these *Greek* Words *Phantasia* (Imagination) *Catathesis* (Assent) *Epoche* (Doubt) *Catalepsis* (Comprehension) *Atomos* (Atoms) *Ameres* (Indivisible) *Kenon* (Void) and many such other *Greek* Terms of Art, contriving by Metaphors, and other Proprieties, to render them intelligible and expressible by the *Romans*. For his Recreation, he exercised his Dexterity in Poetry, and when he was set to it, would make five hundred Verses in one Night: He spent the greatest part of his time at his Country House near *Tusculum*. He wrote to his Friends, that he led the Life of *Laertes*, either jestingly, as his Custom was, (1) or rather through Ambition for publick Em-

(1) His saying that he lead the Life of *Laertes* will very well admit of that Interpretation; for the Retreat of *Laertes* was not volun-

tary, but was the pure Effect of his Grief for the Loss of his Son, whom he thought dead.

ployment, and from a Dislike of his present Situation. Whatever it was, he rarely went to the City, unless to pay his Court to *Cæsar*. He was commonly the first amongst Those who voted him Honours, and always forward in speaking some new thing in praise of the Man and his Actions: As that which he said of the Statues of *Pompey*; for these being defaced and thrown down, *Cæsar* had commanded to be restored, and they were so; and therefore *Cicero* said; *That Cæsar, by this Act of Humanity, had indeed set up Pompey's Statues, but fixed and established his Own.*

He had a Design, as it is reported, of writing the History of his Country, and of intermingling with it the Affairs of *Greece*, with the whole Body both of their true and fabulous Stories: But he was diverted by many publick and private Affairs, and other cross Accidents; most of which seem to have befallen him by his own fault. For first of all, he put away his Wife *Terentia*, because he had been neglected by her in the time of the War, and sent away destitute of Necessaries for his Journey; neither did he find her kind when he returned into *Italy*, for she went not to him at *Brundisium*, where he staid a long time; nor would she allow his Daughter *Tullia*, who was then very young, and had the Courage to undertake such a Journey, decent Attendance, or viatick Expences; besides, she left him a naked and empty House, and yet had involved him in many and great Debts. These were alledged for the most specious Pretences of the Divorce. But for *Terentia*, who denied all these things, *Cicero* himself made an evident Apology, by marrying a young Virgin not long after, for the love of her Beauty, as *Terentia* upbraided him; or as *Tyro*, his emancipated Slave, hath written, for her Riches, to discharge his Debts; for the young Woman was very rich, and *Cicero* had the Custody of her Estate, being

being left Guardian in Trust; and being indebted many Myriads, he was persuaded by his Friends and Relations to marry this young Woman, notwithstanding her Age, for the present Satisfaction of his Creditors with her Money.

Antony, mentioning this Marriage in his Answer to the *Philippicks*, reproaches him for putting away a Wife after he had grown old in her Society; taxing him in a genteel manner for having always led an unactive domestick Life, without ever serving his Country as a Soldier. Not long after this Marriage, his Daughter died in Childbed at *Len-tulus's* House; for she was married to Him after the Death of *Piso*, her former Husband. The Philosophers from all parts came to comfort *Cicero*; for he took this Accident so grievously, that he put away his new-married Wife for seeming to rejoice at the Death of *Tullia*. And thus stood *Cicero's* Domestick Affairs at this time.

He had no Concern in the Conspiracy against *Caesar*, though he was particularly intimate with *Brutus*, and was very uneasy under the present Situation of Affairs, and wished for a Change as much as any other whatsoever: But the Conspirators feared his Temper, as wanting Courage; and his old Age, in which the most daring Dispositions are apt to be timorous.

As soon therefore as the Fact was committed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and the Friends of *Caesar* were got together, so that there was room to doubt the City would again be involved in a Civil War, *Antony* being Consul, convened the Senate, and made a short Discourse tending to an Accommodation. But *Cicero* enlarging pathetically upon many things suitable to the Occasion, persuaded the Senate to imitate the *Athenians*, and pass an Act of Oblivion for what had been transacted against *Caesar*,
and

and decree Provinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but neither of these things took Effect.

For as soon as the Common People, of themselves inclined to Pity, saw the dead Body of *Cæsar* born through the Market-place, and *Antony* exposing his Garments all bloody, and pierced through on every side with Swords, enraged with Fury, they made a search for the Murderers, and with Fire-brands in their Hands ran to their Houses to burn them. But They being forewarned avoided this Danger, and expecting many more, and greater attending them, they left the City: Upon this *Antony* was on a sudden puffed up, and aiming at nothing less than to be absolute, he became formidable to All; but most formidable to *Cicero*; for perceiving that His Interest and Authority began again to gain ground in the Commonwealth, and knowing him studious of the Friendship of *Brutus*, his Presence was very uneasie to him: Besides, there had been some former Jealousie betwixt them, occasioned by the unlikeness and difference of their Manners. *Cicero* fearing the Event of these things, was inclined to go as Lieutenant with *Dolabella* into *Syria*. But *Hircius* and *Pansa* being designed Consuls after *Antony*, good Men, and Lovers of *Cicero*, intreated him not to leave them; undertaking to suppress *Antony*, if he wou'd remain at *Rome*, and assist them with his Presence.

Cicero, without crediting too much or too little, suffered *Dolabella* to go without him, and after having assured *Hirtius* that he would spend his Summer at *Athens*, and return to *Rome* as soon as They should be installed in their Office, he embarked for *Greece*. But meeting with a tedious Passage, and receiving every Day Intelligence from *Rome*, as is usual in such Cases, by which he was assured that there appeared a wonderful Change in *Antony*, that
he

he did nothing without the Advice and Consent of the Senate, and that nothing was wanting but his Presence to reduce things to a happy Settlement; and therefore blaming himself for his great Cowardice, he returned again to *Rome*, and was not deceived in his Hopes at the beginning: For such Multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the Compliments and Civilities which were paid him at the Gates, and at his Entrance into the City, took up almost one whole Day's time.

The next Day *Antony* convened the Senate, and summoned *Cicero* to attend. He came not, but kept his Bed, pretending to be ill of his Journey; but the true Reason seemed the Fear of some Design against him, upon a Suspicion and Intimation given him on his way to *Rome*. But *Antony* took this Affront very heinously, and sent Soldiers, commanding them to bring him, or in case he refused, to burn his House; but Many interceding, and supplicating for him, he revoked that Order, and bid them only bring from him (1) a Pledge for the Security of the Fine to which he was liable on the account of his Absence.

Ever after This when they met, they passed one another with Silence, and continued reserved; 'till *Octavius* coming from *Apollonia*, entered upon the Inheritance of *Julius Cæsar*, and had a Controversie with *Antony* (2) for two thousand five hundred Myriads,

(1) According to the Custom with respect to Those, Who being summoned refused to attend in Senate, or Council, as the Reader may find it explained in the Life of *Cato the Younger*, Vol. vi. p. 334.

(2) *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Antony* that *Calpurnia* entrusted

him with four thousand Talents, and That is the Money demanded here by *Cæsar*. But four thousand Talents fall short of two thousand five hundred Myriads, the Sum mentioned in this place; and the learned *Rualdus* has made it appear that *Plutarch* is mistaken in both these

Myriads, which he detained of that Estate. Upon this, *Philip*, who married the Mother, and *Marcellus* the Sister of *Cæsar*, went with him to *Cicero*, and it was agreed between them that *Cicero* should assist *Cæsar* with his Eloquence both in the Senate and with the People; and that *Cæsar*, on the other hand, should supply *Cicero* with Money upon Occasion, and succour and defend him against his Enemies with his Arms; for he had even then at his Command a great Number of *Veteran* Soldiers, who had served under his Uncle *Julius*.

But there was still a stronger Reason, which inclined *Cicero* to embrace the Friendship of *Octavius*. For while *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, *Cicero* in a Dream seemed to summon the Sons of the Senators into the Capitol, as if *Jupiter* designed to declare one of them the Sovereign of *Rome*; the Citizens running thither with Curiosity surrounded the Temple, and the Youth sitting in their Purple Robes kept Silence. On a sudden the Doors opened, and the Youths arising one by one in order passed round the God, who reviewed them All One after Another, and dismissed them, at which they seemed much displeased. But when it came to young *Cæsar's* Turn to be reviewed, then *Jupiter* stretching forth his Hand pronounced aloud, (1) *This,*
O

these Passages. For the Sum lodged by *Calpurnia* in the Hands of *Antony* was seven times as much, it was *septies millies H.S.* as we are assured by *Paterculus*. *H.S. septies millies depositum a Caio Casare ad adem opis occupatum ab Antonio.* This is confirmed by still a stronger Authority, by *Cicero* Himself in his fifth *Philippick*. *Illa vero dissipatio pecunia publica ferenda nullo modo est, per quam H. S. septies*

millies falsis perscriptionibus, donationibusque avertit (Antonijs) ut portenti simile videatur tantam pecuniam Populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire potuisse.

(1) It is very probable that *Cicero* dreamt This when he was broad awake, if it be true that he ever had such a Dream. For in troublesome times it was usual with them to forge Dreams as they did Oracles. We do not find one

The LIFE of

O ye Romans, *This young Man, when he shall become Lord of Rome, shall put an end to all your cruel Wars.* It is said that *Cicero*, by this Vision in his Dream, had framed the perfect Idea of the Youth, and preserved it in his Mind, though he did not then know him. The next day going down into the *Campus Martius*, he met the Boys returning from their Exercise; and the first that *Cicero* saw was this young *Cæsar*, just as he appeared to him in his Dream: Being astonished at it, he asked him, who were his Parents? He was the Son of *Octavius*, a Person not of the greatest Eminence in *Rome*, and of *Attia* the Sister of *Cæsar*, who having no Children of his Own, adopted him, and by his last Will declared him the Heir to all his Estate.

From that time it is said that *Cicero* very studiously saluted the Youth whensoever he met him, and He as kindly received the Civility. To all This we may add that *Octavius* happened to be born when *Cicero* was Consul. These were the pretended Reasons; but it was principally *Cicero's* Hatred of *Antony*, and a Temper unable to resist Honour, which fastened him to *Cæsar*, with an Opinion of uniting *Cæsar's* Power to his publick Designs; for he had so insinuated himself into the young Man, that he called him Father; at which *Brutus* was so highly displeased, that in his Epistles to *Atticus*, he reflected on *Cicero*, saying, *that it was manifest, by his courting Cæsar, for fear of Antony, he did not intend Liberty to his Country, but designed a bountiful Master to Himself.* Notwithstanding, *Brutus* took *Cicero's* Son, then studying Philosophy at *Athens*, gave him a Command, and

one Word of This in all *Cicero's* Works. And yet it is to be presumed that he would not have con-

cealed so significant a Dream from his Friend *Atticus*.

by

by hi
this
Heig
pleas
and
him
decre
as to
when
slain
joine
Sena
nary
to ca
Pow
Arm
Ca
Frien
Con
He
Supr
was
sar
dang
use
with
sulsh
him
was
teret
with
he v
ty o
alte
he b
Ant
and
had

by his Advice directed much of his Affairs. At this time *Cicero's* Power was at the greatest Height in the City, and he did whatsoever he pleased; for he had suppressed and driven out *Antony*, and sent the two Consuls, *Hircius* and *Pansa*, after him with an Army; but persuaded the Senate to decree to *Cæsar* the *Lictors* and *Prætorian* Ensigns, as to a Person fighting for his Country. But when *Antony* was defeated, and both the Consuls slain, the Forces which came from the Battel joined themselves with *Cæsar*. Upon This, the Senate fearing the young Man, and his extraordinary Fortune, endeavoured by Honours and Gifts to call off the Soldiers from him, and to lessen his Power; pretending there was no further need of Arms, now *Antony* was put to flight.

Cæsar being alarmed at This, privately sent some Friends to intreat and persuade *Cicero* to procure the Consular Dignity for them Both, assuring him that He should manage the Affairs as He pleased, have the Supream Power, and govern a young Man, who was only desirous of Name and Glory. And *Cæsar* himself confessed, that in fear of Ruin, and in danger of being deserted, he had seasonably made use of *Cicero's* Ambition; persuading him to stand with him, assist, and join his Votes for the Consulship. And *Cicero*, old as he was, suffered himself to be wheedled and gulled by him, and was persuaded to bring over the Senate to his Interest. His Friends soon blamed him for it; and within a little time after, He Himself perceived he was ruined by it, and had betrayed the Liberty of the People; for the young Man was so exalted, by obtaining the Consular Authority, that he bid *Cicero* farewell; and reconciling himself to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, united His Power with Theirs, and divided the Government with them, as if it had been part of a common Estate. Thus u-

nited, they made a Schedule of above two hundred Persons, who were designed to be put to Death: But the Proscription of *Cicero* made the greatest Contention in all their Debates: For *Antony* was inclined to no Agreement, 'till he was first killed. *Lepidus* consented, but *Cæsar* opposed them Both. Their Meetings were held alone by Themselves, remote from Company, for three Days, near the City of *Bononia*: The Place where they met, was over-against the Camp, and encompassed with a River; *Cæsar*, as it is said, very earnestly contended for *Cicero* the two first Days; but on the Third Day he yielded (1) and gave him up. The Terms of their mutual Concessions were These; That *Cæsar* should desert *Cicero*; *Lepidus*, his Brother *Paulus*; and *Antoni*us, *Lucius Cæsar*, his Uncle by his Mother's side. So far had Anger and Rage got the better of them as to stifle in them all Sentiments of Humanity, or rather so plainly did they make it appear by this headstrong ungovernable Fury, that no Beast is more savage than Man, when possessed with Power answerable to his Passion. Whilst these things were in Agitation, *Cicero* was with his Brother at his Country House near *Tusculum*; whence, hearing of the Proscriptions, they determined to pass to *Astya*, a Villa of *Cicero*'s near the Sea, and to take Shipping from thence, and join *Brutus* in *Macedonia*; for there was a Report, that He was strong in those Parts. They travelled together in their several Litters, oppressed with Sorrow, and often joining their Litters on the Road, they affectionately condoled each other. But *Quintus* was the most

(1) For instead of assuming Him for his Colleague, he made choice of *Q. Pedius*; and upon his quitting *Rome*, and laying down his Office, he substituted *C. Albinus Car-*

vinas in his Place. Inſomuch that he gave *Cicero* all the Reason in the World to repent of his Credulity.

disheartned,

dishe
cessa
brou
Cice
It w
cero
Quin
thus
with
Qu
by h
him,
Cicero
fel re
as far
the P
thenc
distru
and p
were
and c
and th
plexed
into
self up
divine
Tortu
he w
Thou
tuatin
last su
Cajeto
fant P
Wind
Th
lo, ne
Fligh
towan
Port,
Vo

disheartned when he reflected on his want of Neccessaries for his Journey; for, as he said, he had brought nothing with him from Home. And even *Cicero* Himself had but a slender Viatick Provision: It was adjudged therefore most expedient, that *Cicero* should make what haste he could to fly, and *Quintus* return home to provide Neccessaries; and thus resolved they mutually embraced, and parted, with reciprocal Fears, and Condolements.

Quintus within a few Days after being betrayed by his Servants to Those who came to search for him, was slain, together with his young Son: But *Cicero* was carried to *Astyra*; where, finding a Vessel ready, he immediately went on board, and sailed as far as *Circium* with a prosperous Gale; but when the Pilots resolved immediately to hoist Sail from thence, whether fearing the Sea, or not wholly distrusting the Faith of *Cæsar*, he went on Shore, and passed by Land a hundred Furlongs, as if he were going for *Rome*; but wanting Resolution, and changing his Mind, he again returned to Sea, and there spent his Night in melancholy and perplexed Thoughts: Sometimes he resolved to go into *Cæsar's* House privately, and there kill himself upon the Altar of his Household Gods, to bring divine Vengeance upon his Family; but the Fear of Torture, to which he knew he should be exposed if he were taken, deterred him. To These other Thoughts and Resolutions succeeded, equally fluctuating and troublesom. In this Perplexity he at last suffered his Servants to convey him by Sea to *Cajeta*, where he had a Country House, and a pleasant Retirement in the Spring, when the North Winds blow sweetest.

There was in that Place a Chappel of *Apollo*, not far from the Sea-side, from which a Flight of Crows arising with great Noise, made towards *Cicero's* Ship as it was putting into Port, and lighting on both Sides of the Cross-

Yard, Some croaked, and Others pecked the Sails. This was looked upon by All as an ill Omen, notwithstanding which *Cicero* went on Shore; and entring his House lay down upon his Bed, to compose himself to Rest: In the mean time many of the Crows followed him, and settling upon the Chamber-Window, filled the Air with their horrible Croakings. One of them was so bold as to fly into the Chamber, made to the Bed where *Cicero* lay, and with its Bill by little and little pecked off the Cloaths with which he had covered his Face. Upon the sight of This his Servants began to blame each other, and to say among themselves, *Shall We remain idle Spectators of our Master's Murder, and do nothing in his Defence, whilst the brute Creatures assist and take care of him in his undeserved Affliction?* wherefore partly by Entreaty, partly by Force, they took him up, and carried him in his Litter towards the Sea-side. They had hardly got him out of the House, when the Assassines came with a Band of Soldiers, commanded by *Herennius* a Centurion, and the Tribune *Popilius*, the same *Popilius* whom *Cicero* had heretofore defended when he was under a Prosecution for the Murder of his own Father. These Officers finding the Doors shut forced them open, when *Cicero* not appearing, and Those within saying, they knew not where he was; it is reported, that a Youth, who had been educated by *Cicero* in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, an emancipated Slave of his Brother *Quintus*, *Philologus* by Name, discovered to the Tribune, that they were carrying the Litter through the close and shady Walks to the Sea-side. The Tribune, taking a Few with him, ran to the Place where he was to come out. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his Servants to set down the Litter; and stroaking his Chin, as he used to do, with his left Hand, he looked stedfastly upon his Murderers. His Face was over-

over-grown with Hair, and worn away with Cares, so that it was hard to distinguish him. They who attended *Herennius* covered their Faces, whilst He murdered him as he was stretching forth his Neck out of the Litter. Thus fell *Cicero*, in the sixty fourth Year of his Age. *Herennius* cut off his Head, and by *Antony's* Command his Hand also, with which his *Philippicks* were written; for so *Cicero* styled those Orations he wrote against him, and so they are called to this Day. When these Members of *Cicero* were brought to *Rome*, *Antony* was holding an Assembly for the Choice of publick Officers; and upon Sight of them, he said, *Now let there be an End of all our Proscriptions.*

He commanded his Head and Hand to be fastened up over the *Rostra* of the Orators; a horrid Sight to the *Roman* People, who believed they saw there not the Face of *Cicero*, but the very Image of *Antony's* Soul. And yet amidst these Actions he did Justice in one thing, by delivering up *Philologus* to *Pomponia*, the Wife of *Quintus*; who having got his Body into her Power, besides other grievous Punishments she used, made him cut off his own Flesh by Piece-meal, and boyland eat it; for so some Writers have reported: But *Tyro*, *Cicero's* emancipated Slave, has not so much as mentioned the Treachery of *Philologus*.

Some while after, as I have heard, *Cæsar* visiting his Daughter's Son, found him with a Book of *Cicero's* in his Hand; the Boy for Fear endeavoured to hide it under his Gown; which *Cæsar* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great Part of the Book standing, gave it him again, and said, *My Child, this was a learned Man, and a Lover of his Country.*

As soon as he had vanquished *Antony*, being then Consul, he made *Cicero's* Son his Collegue in that Office, in whose Consulship the Senate took down

The Comparison of

the Statues of *Antony*, and defaced all the other Monuments of his Honour; and decreed that none of that Family should hereafter bear the Name of *Marcus*. Thus did Divine Justice reserve to the House of *Cicero* the Completion of the Vengeance decreed upon *Antony*.



The Comparison of Demosthenes with Cicero.

THESE are the most memorable of those Things delivered in History of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, which have come to our Knowledge: But omitting an exact Comparison of their several Faculties in Speaking, thus much seems fit to be said: That *Demosthenes*, to make himself a Master in Rhetorick, had applied all the Knowledge he had, natural or acquired, wholly that Way: (1) That he far surpassed in Force and Strength of Eloquence all his Contemporaries, who were most famous at the Bar; in Gravity and Magnificence of Style, All that were eminent in the Demonstrative and Ostentatious way; and in Accuracy and Artifice, all the most perfect and consummate Rhetoricians. (2) That

Cicero's

(1) This Passage is of great Weight; for it does not only point out to us the Difference between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, but the Qualities requisite to Those who are to speak in Publick; Gravity, Force and Energy, are Characteristics of the Bar. Grandure and Magnificence of Style, are necessary to Those who are to speak for Pomp and Ostentation; and Accuracy, Exactness and Subtlety belong to the Rhetorician. In all

these did *Demosthenes* excel. How singular is this Character!

(2) *Cicero* was much inferior to *Demosthenes* in the Qualities before-mentioned; but that Defect was sufficiently repaired by his universal Genius and diffusive Knowledge, which fitted him equally for all sorts of Subjects, whether they related to Oratory or Philosophy. *Longinus* has made a Comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. He admired *Demosthenes* for

Cicero's Learning and Knowledge were more universal and diffusive, and that having applied himself to divers kinds of Studies, he left behind him a great Number of Philosophical Tracts, which are of a Cast peculiar to Himself, and were composed by him after the manner of the Academy. It appears in his Orations to the People, and his Pleadings before the Judges, that even on those Occasions he affected to make a shew of his profound Erudition. The Difference of their Tempers appears in their different Styles; for *Demosthenes's* Oratory was void of all Embellishment, and (1) without the least Tincture of Wit, wholly composed to Gravity and Seriousness; not smelling of the Lamp, as *Pythias* scoffingly said, but of the Temperance, Thoughtfulness, Austerity, and Melancholy of his Temper. But *Cicero*, by his jeering Humour, often launched out

for being close and concise, and *Cicero* for being copious and extensive. But that Comparison is confined to Eloquence only; whereas *Plutarch* comprehends in this Place both their Characters entire, and makes it appear, that what *Cicero* wanted in Excellence and Beauty, was in some Measure supplied by Number and Variety. Upon this Account I am of Opinion, that the Comparison drawn by *Longinus*, between *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*, may be applied to these two Orators, *Demosthenes* and *Tully*. *Tully* is like the Fencer, who fights at all Weapons, and excels Those who have made those different sorts of Exercises their Study; but is foiled by Him, who confines his Skill to One only. *Demosthenes* is that Champion, who labours to excel in one single

Exercise. If *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* are to be compared with respect to the Number of their Talents, *Cicero* must have the Preference; and if the Comparison be confined to Eloquence, in that case it must be given to *Demosthenes*.

(1) That is, because he was indisposed to it by Nature. In spite of which however he aimed sometimes at being witty but without Success, as is confessed by *Longinus*; *When he labours to be witty, saith that celebrated Rhetorician, he does not provoke People's Mirth but Ridicule, and is then less agreeable when he most endeavours to be so.* *Cicero* had in this Point a great Advantage over him; for tho' he sometimes spins his Jokes so fine as to degenerate into the Buffoon, he is often very witty and entertaining.

into Scurrility; and by disguising serious Arguments at the Bar with Jest and Laughter, for the Advantage of his Client, he had no Regard to what was decent and becoming; (1) as in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he proceeds so far as to say, *That Cælius had done nothing, either uncommon or absurd, if in the Possession of such an affluent Fortune, he sometimes gave himself up to his Pleasures; it being a kind of Madness, not to enjoy those things we possess, especially since the most eminent Philosophers have asserted Pleasure to be the chiefest Good.* We are told that when *Cato* brought his Action against *Murena*, *Cicero*, who was then Consul, undertook his Defence, in which he ridiculed with great Licence the impertinent Paradoxes of the Stoicks, and All because *Cato* was a rigid Follower of that Philosophy. This was done in such a Manner as to raise a loud Laugh in the whole Assembly, from which the Judges themselves were not exempt; whereupon *Cato* said to Those, who sat near him, *You see, Gentlemen, what a Droll of a Consul we have got.*

(1) I cannot but think *Plutarch* a little too severe in this Place. It must be confessed, that *Cicero* in that Oration makes too great an Allowance for Youth, but it is rather by way of Excuse than Approbation. He has in those very Passages some divine Touches, which set off and heighten Virtue to a wonderful Degree. I will allow *Plutarch* to be as rigid and severe as he pleases, such Qualities are suitable to so great a Philosopher. But at the same time it doth not become him to be unjust; he hath no Authority to tax an Author with what he never said. *Cicero* never said *it was a kind of Madness*

not to enjoy those Things we possess; No Maxim like it ever came out of his Mouth; it was too much of the Libertine, and the Romans would have been shocked to have heard an Orator of his Age, Reputation and Virtue, pronounce in full Assembly, a Sentiment so pernicious and immoral. It is more than likely, that *Plutarch* in this Place depended too much upon his own Memory, which basely deceived him, so that it was necessary to vindicate *Cicero* from such a Charge, for fear the imaginary Authority of so great a Man should serve to countenance a Maxim so abominable.

And

And indeed *Cicero* was naturally very much disposed to Mirth, and delighted in Jeering, as appeared from his very Countenance, which was always gay and smiling; whereas *Demosthenes* had a constant Care and Thoughtfulness in his Look, which he seldom or never laid aside; and therefore was accounted by his Enemies, as he himself confesseth, *morose and ill-natured*.

It is very evident from their several Writings, that *Demosthenes* never touched upon his own Commendations, but decently and without Offence, when there was need of it, and for some weighty End; upon other Occasions he was very modest and reserved: But *Cicero's* immeasurable boasting of himself in his Orations, proclaimed in Him an intemperate Thirst after Glory: As when he cried out,

Let Arms resign their Honour to the Gown.

But at last he did not only extol his own Deeds and Actions, but his Orations also, as well Those that were only spoken, as Those that were published; as if he were vying in youthful Confidence with *Isocrates* and *Anaximenes*, the Sophisters; not as if he were instructing and directing the *Roman* People, *the hardy, warlike, and irresistible Romans*.

It is necessary indeed for a Statesman to be an able Speaker; but it is an ignoble Thing for any Man to admire and relish the Glory of his own Eloquence. And in this Matter *Demosthenes* shewed a more than ordinary Gravity (1) and Elevation of Mind; for he said, *his Faculty in speaking was but a*

(1) This is remarkable: a true greatness and elevation of Mind | eth him to look with Contempt
appears chiefly in a Man's modest | on those Talents for which he is
Opinion of Himself, which teach- | admired by Others.

mean Acquirement, and needed great Candor in the Audience; esteeming Those who are puffed up by such Acquisitions to be, as indeed they are, servile and Mechanical. But the Power of persuading and governing the People did equally belong to Both; so that They who had Armies and Camps at Command, stood in need of their Assistance; as *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leosthenes* did of *Demosthenes*; *Pompey* and young *Cæsar* of *Cicero*; as *Cæsar* Himself acknowledges in his Commentaries to *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*.

But what is thought and commonly said most to demonstrate and try the Tempers of Men, Authority and Power, which are apt to awaken and excite all the Passions, and unavoidably expose whatever Weakness and Defect lay lurking in them, never happened to *Demosthenes*; He never had occasion of giving such Proof of himself, having never obtained any eminent Office, nor led any of those Armies into the Field against *Philip*, which he had raised by his Eloquence.

But *Cicero* went Quæstor into *Sicily*, and Proconsul into *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, at a time when Avarice was at the height, and the Commanders and Governors who were employed aboard, thinking it beneath them to steal, set themselves to seize by open force, and thought it no heinous matter for a Magistrate to take Bribes: But He that did it most moderately, and with a sparing Hand, was in good esteem; and yet then *Cicero* in the whole Course of his Administration gave great Demonstrations of his Contempt of Riches, and as great of his Humanity and good Nature.

And at *Rome* also, when he was created Consul in Name, but indeed received Sovereign and Dictatorial Authority against *Catiline* and his Accompllices, he attested the Truth of *Plato's* Prediction,
That

That the
their C
pream
ther an

It is
his El
made
Adver
ed wit
and c
should
things
falsific
sthenes
those
were
wise t
was to

But
when
docia,
at Ro
thoug
ready
infam
very
of pe
ly wh
upon
ed th

(1) C
it Bort
out Mo
censure
practise
the Ex
though

Vo

That then States and Cities would be delivered from all their Calamities, when by a happy Conjunction the supreme Power, Wisdom, and Justice, should meet together and combine in the same Subject.

It is said to the Reproach of *Demosthenes*, that his Eloquence was mercenary; that he privately made Orations for *Phormio* and *Apollodorus*, tho' Adversaries in the same Cause; that he was charged with Money received from the Kings of *Persia*, and condemned for Bribes from *Harpalus*: And should we grant all Those that have written these things against him (which are not a few) to have falsified; yet it cannot be denied, but that *Demosthenes* wanted Courage and Resolution to resist those Presents, which in Respect and Gratitude were sent him from the Kings; nor was it otherwise to be expected from a Person addicted as He was to (1) Maritime Usury.

But that *Cicero* did refuse from the *Sicilians*, when he was Quæstor, from the King of *Cappadocia*, when he was Proconsul, and from his Friends at *Rome*, when he was in Exile, many Presents, though urged to receive them, has been said already. Moreover, *Demosthenes's* Banishment was infamous, upon Conviction for Bribery; *Cicero's* very honourable, for ridding his Country of Men of pernicious Principles and Practices. Accordingly when *Demosthenes* was banished no stress was laid upon it, but upon *Cicero's* Exile the Senate changed their Habit, and put on Mourning, and would

(1) Our English Merchants call it Bottomry. This way of letting out Money is so far from being censured in these times, that it is practised publickly every Day upon the Exchange, whereas it was thought a scandalous way of Traffick in Greece, *ὑπερτεταγμένον*, to let out Money upon Bottomry, was looked upon as a Term of great Reproach. *Zeno* stood charged with it, but it was before he had resigned himself to the Study of Philosophy.

The Comparifon of

not be perfuaded to pafs any Act 'till *Cicero's* Return was decreed by the People.

It muft be confefled, *Cicero* fpent the time of His Exile in great Eafe and Indolence in *Macedonia*, whereas That of *Demofthenes* may be confidered even as a Continuation of his publick Service and Adminiftration. For he travelled through all the Cities of *Greece*, fupporting their joint Interests, and defeating the Designs of the *Macedonian* Ambassadors; in This approving himfelf a much better Citizen than *Themiftocles*, and *Alcibiades*, who did not manifeft the like Virtue in the like Circumftances of Fortune. And after his Return, he again applied himfelf to the fame Publick Services, and continued oppofing *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*; whereas *Lælius* reproached *Cicero* in full Senate, for fitting with his Mouth fhut, whilft *Oftavius*, a beardlefs Strippling, demanded leave to ftand for the Confulate, for which he was not qualified by Law. And *Brutus*, in his Epiftles, charges him *with cherifhing a greater, and more heavy Tyranny than That They had removed.*

To conclude; as to their Ends, it is impoffible not to be touched with Compaffion to behold an old Man (1) committing himfelf out of Fear to his Servants, to be born by Them from Place to Place, to elude the Search of his Enemies, and fhun a Death, which of it felf was naturally haftening towards him, and who, notwithstanding all his Shifts and Evasions, fell at laft into their Hands, and was butchered by them. Whereas *Demofthenes*, tho' at firft he defcended fo low as to Entreaties and Supplications, yet one cannot but admire his feafonable Care in providing himfelf with Poifon as his laft

(1) It muft be confefled that this Conduct in *Cicero* was mean, and unworthy a Perfon of his Age and Dignity, and is therefore juftly condemned by *Plutarch*.

Resort; the Caution wherewith he preserved it, and the courageous Use he at last made of it: When finding the Temple of *Neptune* to be an ineffectual Sanctuary, (1) he had Recourse to That which is the most inviolable, and by a voluntary Death rescued himself out of the Hands of Those who had him in their Custody, and so eluded the Cruelty of *Antipater*.

(1) This Idea is strong and no- violable Sanctuary, and Refuge
ble, to look on Death as an in- from Violence and Tyranny.

The End of the Seventh Volume.



Report of the Council upon the proposed
and the Council have the honor to inform
When the Council have the honor to inform
effectual remedy. (1) The Council have the honor
which is the most advisable, and by a voluntary
Donor retained in the hands of the Council, and to
Clergy of the Council.

(1) The Council have the honor to inform
as to the Council as to the Council and the Council

